Moravian Sunday school

for the Teachers

# HISTORY

OF THE

# PROTESTANT CHURCH

OF THE

# UNITED BRETHREN.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR; AND SOLD AT NO. 84, HATTON-GARDEN, AND BY J. NISBET, 21, BERNERS-STREET, OXFORD-STREET, LONDON; W. OLIPHANT, EDINBURGH; R. M. TIMS, DUBLIN; T. INKERSLEY, BRADFORD; AND OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1825.

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T. INKERSLEY, PRINTER, BRADFORD.

# INTRODUCTION.

ABOUT the middle of the fifteenth century, there arose in Bohemia and Moravia, a religious society, which assumed the name of UNITAS FRATRUM, (i. e. *the Unity of the Brethren,*) separated from the established church of those countries, and formed an ecclesiastical constitution, more consonant, both in doctrine and discipline, to the pattern of the church of Christ, as exhibited in the New Testament, and during the first and purest ages of Christianity, than the one which then universally prevailed in Christendom.

This religious Society, though subject to many and great vicissitudes, has never become totally extinct, and still exists in the *Renewed Church of the Brethren.* The history of this church will form the subject of the following sheets.

But before the author enters upon the principal part of his work, he deems it necessary to present his readers with a brief account of the Rise and subsequent History of the Waldenses—the Propagation of the Gospel in Bohemia—the Labours and Martyrdom of John Huss, and their consequences. A knowledge of these facts will tend to throw considerable light on many subjects, to which the attention of the reader will be directed in the prosecution of the narrative. It will disclose the main spring which originated, matured, and still preserves to the Church of the Brethren much of *primitive* Christianity, both in doctrine and practice, in government and discipline, and gives to it, in no inconsiderable degree, its peculiar character.

In order to keep these subjects distinct from the work itself, the author designs to treat of them, in separate sections, in the Introduction.

## SECTION I.

WALDENSES—*Their origin—their labours and sufferings—and their present condition.*

THE origin of the Waldenses and their first appearance as a regularly organized society, distinct from the great mass of professing Christians, are points involved in much uncertainty, on account of the total absence of *early* records on these subjects. They themselves date their origin from the age of the Apostles, asserting that they derived episcopacy from them in an uninterrupted line of succession.

It appears most probable, that they had existed for a considerable time, and become pretty numerous, before they were regularly organized as a religious society, and publicly avowed their secession from the established church. At a very early period of the Christian era, when the leaven of unrighteousness began to work, by corrupting the doctrine, and introducing laxity of discipline in the church, its more pious members, both in the East and West, by degrees formed associations among themselves, for the maintenance of sound doctrine and scriptural practice. Being branded by those in power as schismatics, they were necessitated, in order to avoid persecution, to seek retirement and court obscurity. The names by which they are mentioned, in the works of ecclesiastical historians, are generally either epithets of opprobrium, given them by their enemies, or appellations derived from their real or supposed leaders. Hence it has happened, that religious sects, whose doctrinal tenets and views of church government were exactly or very nearly the same, were designated by different names in different countries, or their respective names were changed and confounded in the lapse of time. Thus the Cathari (or Puritans) in the West, who arose about the year 250, and the Paulicians in the East, who flourished in the

seventh century, doubtless held nearly the same religious opinions, and separated from the established church in their respective countries, on account of the increasing corruption in doctrine and practice. Thus likewise the appellations of Leonists, Piccards, Albigenses, Vaudois, and Waldenses, were given in different places and periods to the same people.*

But in whatever uncertainty the origin of the Waldenses may be involved, there can be no doubt as to the soundness of their doctrine, and the unblameable tenour of their lives. The former is proved by their Confessions of faith, and the latter is acknowledged even by their enemies. On these points, the testimony of Reinerius Sacho claims peculiar attention; first, because his connection with the Waldenses for a number of years enabled him to speak from personal knowledge; and secondly, because his apostacy and subsequent elevation to the dignity of an inquisitor, in which station he became a cruel persecutor of his former friends, would induce him to represent them in the most odious light. Yet, all the charges he brings against them, amount to nothing more than the heavy crime of opposing the unscriptural and superstitious doctrines and practices of the reigning church, and he is compelled to admit the orthodoxy of their creed, and the rectitude of their lives.

"Among all sects, or religious parties, separated from the Romish church," says this inquisitor, "there is not one more dangerous than the Leonists or Waldenses, for the following reasons: first, because this sect is older than any other. It existed, according to some, in the days of Pope Sylvester, in the fourth century, and according to others even in the days of the Apostles. Secondly, because it is widely spread; for there is scarcely a country into which it has not found its way. Thirdly, because while other sects create disgust by their blasphemous doctrines, *this* has a great appearance of piety, as its members lead a righteous life before men, believe the truths

* Their own historians call them Waldenses, or Wallenses, a term derived from the Latin word, VALLIS, a valley, because great numbers resided in the valleys of the Alps and Pyrenees. Some suppose that they received their name from Peter Waldo, a rich merchant at Lyons, who lived in the twelfth century, and of whom more will be said in the sequel.

concerning God and divine things, and retain all the articles of the apostolic faith, only *hating the Romish church and clergy.*"

The testimony borne by this inquisitor to the orthodoxy of their creed is confirmed by the Confessions of faith,* compiled by themselves, in order to refute the charge of heresy and other accusations brought against them by their enemies.

These documents make it sufficiently evident, that the Waldenses held no doctrines inconsonant with those generally called orthodox, and that the accusation of their enemies, who charged them with maintaining principles of an immoral tendency in private life, and subversive of civil governments, was entirely unfounded. The cause of the hostility against them must be sought for in their protestation against the errors and superstitions of the Romish church, and the usurpation of power over the consciences of men by its hierarchy. They resisted its tyranny on no other grounds than those which, at a later period, caused the Reformers to refuse submission to the Papal see. As far as they had received light, they acted on the Protestant principle, that in matters purely religious, the Bible is the *only* infallible rule of conduct, and God the sole Sovereign of conscience.

Dating the period when they first seceded from the Roman Catholic communion, and organized congregations of their own, about the year 1150, we find them, for many generations, faithfully adhering to the truth as it is in Jesus, even under the severest sufferings, and zealously propagating that truth, wherever they could find entrance; while their adversaries used every possible means to prevent the spread of their doctrines.

Without attempting to settle the difference between ecclesiastical historians, whether Peter Waldo was the original founder of the Waldensian church, or not, it is certain that he was a distinguished instrument of extending its interests. It will not,

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* The necessary brevity of this Introduction does not admit of the insertion of these Confessions. The reader may find them in a work entitled *Histoire des Vaudois*, written by John Perrin, (who was a Waldensian,) and published at Geneva in 1619. An English translation is inserted in Jones's History of the Waldenses, p. 365—369.

therefore, be irrelevant to our subject to insert a few notices respecting him, extracted from Perrin's history.

"PETER WALDO was an opulent merchant in the city of Lyons, and a man of learning. He spent the earlier part of his life without paying any serious attention to religion, and had no intention of withdrawing from the Romish church. He did indeed enter his protest against the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the court of Rome about that time required all men to acknowledge, because the adoration of the host in the eucharist was connected with the reception of this doctrine. Waldo's mind revolted against this novel piece of superstition, but as yet without experiencing any saving change in his own soul.

"An extraordinary occurrence was the means employed by divine Providence to awaken his mind to serious reflection. One evening after supper, while enjoying the company of some friends, one of them fell down and instantly expired, to the great consternation of all present. Such a lesson on the uncertainty of human life, forcibly arrested his attention. The sudden death of his friend led him to think of his own approaching dissolution, and under the terrors of an awakened conscience, he had recourse to the Holy Scriptures for instruction and comfort. He did not study the sacred volume in vain. While it disclosed to him his sin and danger, it also pointed out to him the only way of access to God and reconciliation. He had grace given him to believe in Jesus as the Atoner of his sins, and his soul was filled with joy and peace.

"This gave a new turn to his thoughts and pursuits. He relinquished his mercantile occupations, distributed his wealth to the poor, and, while he liberally provided for their temporal necessities, sought to direct their attention to their spiritual wants. To do this more effectually, he undertook, with the assistance of some learned men, a translation of the four gospels into French. This was the first translation of any part of the Bible into a modern language.

"The more Waldo studied the sacred volume, the more clearly was he convinced of the errors of the Church of Rome. Zeal for the glory of God, and concern for the souls of his

fellow-sinners, many of whom were perishing for lack of knowledge, constrained him to raise his voice against the prevailing superstition and impiety. He taught evangelical truth in its scriptural simplicity, and enforced its practical influence on the heart and life, by his own example, and laboured to demonstrate how widely the Christianity of the New Testament differed from that of the Church of Rome.

"The consequence of all this may be anticipated. The Archbishop of Lyons forbade him to teach any more, under pain of excommunication, and being proceeded against as an heretic. But Waldo replied, that, though a layman, he could not be silent in a matter which concerned the salvation of his fellow-creatures. Measures were now taken to apprehend him; but the number and affection of his friends, the respectability and influence of his connections, many of whom were men of rank, the universal regard paid to his character for probity and piety, and the conviction that his presence was highly necessary among a people, whom he had by this time gathered into a church, and of which he was the pastor, operated so strongly in his favour, that he lived concealed at Lyons during the space of three whole years.

"Information of these proceedings was speedily conveyed to the reigning Pope, Alexander III. who anathematized Waldo and his followers, commanding the archbishop to proceed against them with the utmost rigour. Waldo and his friends were obliged to leave Lyons; but whereever they went they preached the Word. He first retired into Dauphiny where he labored with much success. Driven from thence, he proceeded into Germany, and, according to the testimony of Thuanus, a very authentic Roman Catholic Historian, at length settled in Bohemia, where he died in the year 1179, about twenty years after he commenced his ministerial labors. Many of his disciples had followed him into Bohemia, where their services were of great use in promoting the cause of reformation, begun in that country. Others fled for an asylum into the valleys of Piedmont taking with them the new translation of the Bible."

Long before Peter Waldo commenced his labors, the Wal-

denses, under different names, had been the zealous propagators of divine truth, and had been viewed with malignant jealousy by the Romish church as a most heretical and pestilent sect; yet, notwithstanding this, their numbers had been greatly multiplied, and persons of their principles and communion were to be met with in almost every country of Europe. Their chief places of residence, and where they appear to have been first formed into a regular Christian community, were France, Italy, Piedmont, and the Alps. They collected congregations in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, which flourished throughout the thirteenth century.

In times of persecution frequent and numerous emigrations took place; for these sincere followers of Christ obeyed the injunction of their Master, and, when persecuted in one city fled into another. Wherever they settled, they communicated to others a portion of the knowledge, faith, and love, which they posessed themselves. Thus they did not remain unfruitful, but became the spiritual parents of a numerous progeny in almost every country of Europe. In Bohemia and the country of Passaw alone they are said to have amounted in 1315, to eighty thousand; and a few years after their numbers in Europe were computed at eight hundred thousand.

Large as these numbers appear, they are not incredible if we take into account the multitudes which lost their lives in times of persecution, and the new methods that their enemies took to destroy them. On this subject the Roman Catholic historian, Thuanus, remarks: "Against the Waldenses, when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was increased by the remedies which had been unseasonably applied, *complete armies were at length raised,* and a war of no less weight, than what our people had before waged against the Saracens, was determined against them. The result was that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled every where of their goods and possessions, and dispersed abroad, than convinced of their error and brought to repentance." And Jones adds: "It is an acknowledged truth, that in those days the Waldenses were so numerous, that in travelling from Cologne to Milan, the whole extent of Germany, they could lodge every night

with persons of their own profession, and that it was a common custom among them to affix certain private marks to their signs and gates, whereby they made themselves known to one-another."*

The great increase of the Waldenses at a period, when nominal Christendom was enveloped in the grossest spiritual darkness, must, under God, be solely ascribed to their veneration of his holy word, and their active zeal for its diffusion. And though that zeal frequently exposed them to the heaviest sufferings; yet in their case also, the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church.

A new era in the history of the Waldenses commenced with the Reformation. They sought an early acquaintance with Luther and his coadjutors. Their agreement with them in all the essentials of religion naturally paved the way for mutual acts of kindness, and a closer union. Thus we find, that in 1560, the Waldenses of Calabria formed a union with Calvin's church in Geneva, from which they were supplied with ministers.† Their intercourse with the Reformers had also this good effect; that it roused their attention to the disgraceful conduct of some of their brethren in France, who, in the time of persecution, had denied the faith. Encouraged by the Reformers, their drooping zeal and love for Christ and his cause, were anew stirred up; they acknowledged their defection, and soon had an opportunity of evidencing the sincerity of their repentance. For a fresh and most cruel persecution was excited against them; but God gave them grace rather to endure the severest sufferings, than deny him. The consequence was that multitudes were destroyed.

Such of the Waldenses as had taken refuge in Protestant states, gradually relinquished, or lost, their own ecclesiastical constitution, and were blended with the Lutherans or Calvinists; while those, who remained in Roman Catholic countries, were exposed to repeated fierce persecutions, which greatly diminished their numbers, and almost obliterated their name.

The valleys of Piedmont, where for centuries they had en-

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* Jones p. 447 and 448, Note. † Jones p. 486.

joyed repose and religious liberty, proved their last retreat. Being good and loyal subjects, they were generally patronized by the government; yet did not altogether escape the malice of their enemies. Not to detain the reader by a relation of minor and unauthorized persecutions, it may be sufficient to mention, that in 1655 an order of banishment was issued against them. Thousands of families were in consequence, compelled to quit house and home in the very depth of winter. All the property they had left behind them was plundered, their habitations razed to the ground, the trees cut down, and the country turned into a desert. Six thousand persons are supposed to have been slain.

The news of these proceedings awakened the sympathy of all the Protestant states of Europe. England under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, took a prominent part in relieving the wretched sufferers. A day of national humiliation was appointed, and a collection ordered in all the churches; which produced *Twenty eight thousand two hundred and forty one pounds ten shillings and sixpence*. The Protector likewise, besides interesting the Protestant governments in their behalf, sent Sir Samuel Morland, as his ambassador to the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, furnished with strong remonstrances against the outrages committed on the Waldenses. This last measure had the effect, that they enjoyed rest and tranquillity and were protected in their religious and civil privileges for some years.

But after the revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1685, by which all Protestants were banished the kingdom of France, new and heavy troubles were preparing for the Waldenses. The Duke of Savoy, in whose territory Piedmont lies, being obliged to obey the mandate of Louis the XIV. of France, deprived them of all their religious liberties. It is needless to detail the fruitless negociations that were entered into by the Waldenses, aided by the Swiss Cantons, to avert the threatening danger, and the equally fruitless attempts made by them to defend themselves against the troops of France and Savoy. More than three thousand are said to have fallen by the sword, ten thousand were either banished or imprisoned, and two thou-

sand children taken and dispersed among the Roman Catholics to be trained up in their religion. Many of them retired into Switzerland.

On the remonstrance of the Swiss Cantons, the Duke of Savoy issued a proclamation for the release of the imprisoned Waldenses, whose number amounted to about ten thousand persons, men, women, and children, granting them permission to retire into Geneva and the adjoining Protestant Cantons. Their emigration took place in the month of October, 1686, when the country was already covered with frost and snow. The inclemency of the season, added to the previous hardships they had endured in prison, occasioned the death of great numbers, and scarce more than a fourth part survived. When they arrived in Geneva and other places, they were received by the inhabitants, with every expression of Christian sympathy and active benevolence. The Elector of Brandenburg desired that part might be sent into his dominions, where he promised to provide for them; and the United Provinces made very liberal collections, the amount of which was from time to time remitted and distributed among them.

From that period little was heard or known of the Waldenses. The renewed church of the Brethren, recollecting with gratitude to God, the bond of Christian love, which had subsisted between the Waldenses and their ancestors in Moravia, made two attempts to visit them. The first in 1744 proved unsuccessful. One of the deputies set out again in the following year, and visited Turin and Susa, with great personal risk. He however made good his retreat across the Alps into Switzerland.

The valleys of Piedmont still continue to afford them a safe asylum. During the reign of Bonaparte they enjoyed the same religious liberties as other Protestants in the French territory; but after his downfal, both their civil and religious privileges have been greatly curtailed.

The Waldenses in Piedmont now inhabit three valleys, called Lucerne, Perouse, and St. Martin, comprising a space of about twenty-four French square leagues, five-sixths of which consist of arid soil. Beyond these limits no Waldenses can legally possess land. Their population amounts to seventeen thou-

sand souls, forming thirteen congregations, with an equal number of pastors. They are governed by a Moderator, who is a Dean, with an assistant and secretary under him; and pastoral visitations of each parish take place once a year. They have Parochial and Sunday-schools. One Bible and one Religious Tract Society have existed amongst them for about five years. In their mode of worship they retain much of the ancient simplicity of their forefathers. In their chapels the men and women sit separately, and are remarkable for great simplicity of dress and manners, in both which they are easily to be distinguished from the Roman Catholics. Their general moral character is honesty, kindness, and hospitality, though their poverty is very great. They are fond of vocal and instrumental music, and take great delight in singing Psalms.*

## SECTION II.

*Introduction of Christianity into* Bohemia *and* Moravia.

The most authentic records ascribe the introduction of Christianity into Bohemia and Moravia to two Greek ecclesiastics, Cyrillus and Methodius, in the ninth century. They were men of approved piety and considerable learning. By their preaching, Suatopluk, king of Moravia, was, in 860, persuaded to embrace the Christian religion. Aided by the example of the sovereign, the labours of the two ecclesiastics were attended with such success, that in a short time Christian congregations were formed in various parts of the kingdom. Divine worship was regulated according to the ritual of the Greek church, and the service performed in the Sclavonian language, the vernacular dialect of the country. Cyrillus is said to have translated the Holy Scriptures into that language, and this translation is still in use among those Sclavonians who adhere to the Greek church.

Some years after, Borziwog, Duke of Bohemia, being on a

* Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. III. p. 95. Brief Observations on the present state of the Waldenses, &c. made in 1820, by G. Lowther.

visit to the king of Moravia, was converted to Christianity and baptized. On his return, his consort, Ludomilla, likewise embraced the Christian faith. Their example was, in a short time, followed by many of their subjects, who destroyed their idols. The Duke was actively engaged in the erection of churches and the establishment of schools, by which the Christian religion spread nearly through the whole extent of Bohemia. Many of the inhabitants, however, especially the nobility, still remained attached to heathenism. This led to civil commotions, during which the enemies of Christianity gained the ascendancy, and for ten years persecuted the Christians. Their churches were taken from them, the schools abolished, and the ministers prohibited instructing the people. Many were injured in their persons and property, and not a few suffered death as faithful confessors of the truth.

Such was the state of things, when, in the year 940, the Emperor Otho I. entered Bohemia with a powerful army. The Duke Boleslas, was obliged to submit, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Roman Emperor, who, however, suffered him to retain his title. Hereby a stop was put to the Pagan persecution, the church enjoyed a season of repose, Christianity was revived, and the number of its professed adherents increased, both in Bohemia and Moravia.

But new dangers soon began to threaten and invade the Christian church in this quarter. Bohemia being by the conquest of Otho I. added to the western empire, the Roman Pontiffs exerted all their influence, both by craft and force, to alienate the Sclavonians from the Greek church, and subject them to the Papal see. After a struggle of ten years, the Bohemians obtained from Pope John XIII. the indulgence of having divine service performed in their native language: yet they did not long enjoy this privilege, as succeeding Popes refused to confirm it. The Bohemians nevertheless remained firm.

During this contest, which had now continued above one hundred years, the brave Duke Wratislas succeeded to the government, with the title of King, a distinction of honour conferred on him in consequence of the service he had rendered to the Emperor. This encouraged him to apply for a confirm-

ation of the religious liberties formerly granted to the Bohemians. For this purpose he sent a deputation to the reigning Pope, Gregory VII. But this ambitious Pontiff, who assumed far greater power than any of his predecessors, refused the request in the most haughty and authoritative manner. His answer most forcibly demonstrates the spiritual domination, exercised by this "servant of servants," as he styles himself, and is too interesting to be omitted. It is as follows:—

"Gregory, bishop and servant of the servants of God, sends greeting and benediction to the Bohemian prince Wratislas. Your highness desires that we should give permission to your people to conduct their church-service according to the old Sclavonian ritual. But know, dear son, that we can by no means grant this your request; for having frequently searched the Holy Scriptures, we have there discovered that it hath pleased, and still pleases, Almighty God, to direct his worship to be conducted in a hidden language, that not every one, especially the simple, might understand it. For, if it were to be performed in a manner altogether intelligible, it might easily be exposed to contempt and disgust; or, if imperfectly understood by half-learned persons, it might happen, that by hearing and contemplating the word too frequently, error might be engendered in the hearts of the people, which would not be easily eradicated. Let no one pretend to quote as a precedent, that formerly exceptions were made in favour of new converts and simple souls. True it is, that in the primitive church much was conceded to upright and well-meaning people; but much injury and many heresies were thereby created: insomuch, that when the Christian church spread more and more, and became better grounded, it was plainly perceived, that from the root of such ill-timed indulgence many errors had sprouted up, which it required great labour and pains to stop. Therefore, what your people ignorantly require can in no wise be conceded to them: *and we now forbid it, by the power of* God, *and his holy* Apostle Peter, and exhort you, for the sake of the honour of Almighty God, that you oppose such levity of sentiment by every possible means, in conformity to this our command. Given at Rome in the year 1079."

This papal bull prepared the way for a succession of heavy persecutions against the confessors of the truth in Moravia and Bohemia, which at length broke out into the most relentless cruelties. But, as in the age of the Apostles, the sufferings inflicted by their Pagan oppressors upon the disciples of Christ, instead of weakening their fervour and fortitude, rather tended to strengthen their zeal and devotion to him, whose followers they were: so it was also here. Neither the most exquisite tortures, nor the spoliation of their property, nor the loss of life itself, could deter the Bohemian and Moravian confessors from their allegiance to the King of heaven.

The superstition and errors of the church of Rome, and the vices and profligate lives of her accredited ministers roused the courage, and fortified the resolution of the faithful rather to suffer the most cruel death, than bear the iron yoke imposed on them. Having truth, the eternal truth of God, on their side, they feared not the wrath of men; but, with undaunted courage, testified against the reigning corruptions in doctrine and practice, and more especially against image-worship, transubstantiation, the refusal of the cup in the eucharist, purgatory, and other kindred errors. And when at last forcibly deprived of their churches, they edified themselves in secret, and maintained strict morality among their members.

In this state of outward oppression they remained for above a century. They still adhered to the Greek communion, as their mother church, and as far as their situation would allow, performed divine service according to its ritual. But this very circumstance threatened them with far more serious danger than that arising from the opposition of their adversaries. Great errors in doctrine, and many superstitious rites had gradually been admitted into the Greek church; and thus, by their adherence to this church, they would in all probability have shared in the common degeneracy, and lost much both in purity of doctrine and simplicity of worship, had not the wonder-working hand of God provided for their deliverance from this danger.

At this critical juncture, which involved the future destiny of no inconsiderable portion of the great Christian family, and perhaps the eternal happiness or misery of many thousand souls,

God arose for the help of his faithful servants in Moravia and Bohemia, by causing the persecutions of the Waldenses in France and Italy to lead to the emigration of great numbers of them into Bohemia. They made their first appearance in this country in the year 1176, and settled at Saaz and Laun, on the Eger; and soon formed a union with those Bohemians and Moravians, who had separated from the Romish church, and observed the Greek ritual.

To the Bohemian confessors this union was attended with the happiest consequences. By their intercourse with the Waldenses, who had by long experience and many severe trials, been well disciplined in the service of God, they obtained clearer notions of the doctrines of the gospel and the truths of Scripture in general, which led to the introduction of a purer and more scriptural form of worship among them. The Waldenses also provided them with teachers and ministers from their schools in Italy; and the Bohemians and Moravians sent some of their young men thither, in order to receive regular instruction to qualify them for the ministry.

They now employed all their united energies for the advancement of pure and undefiled religion. They maintained strict discipline, and met diligently for the observance of divine worship, which was performed, according to circumstances, either in public or private. As many of their brethren resided in other countries, they endeavoured as far as in their power to come to their assistance, and for this purpose sent deputies and teachers to England, Hungary, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Prussia, and other places. After remaining in comparative obscurity, and enjoying repose above two centuries, the imprudence of two of their preachers in 1391, led to their detection. They were in consequence cruelly persecuted, and obliged to disperse.

While the united Bohemian, Moravian, and Waldensian confessors adhered with unshaken constancy to the truths of God's holy word, both in doctrine and practice, the light of that word here and there penetrated the dense mist which every where obscured its rays. Many persons in Bohemia and Moravia, who outwardly remained in communion with the established

church, secretly deplored the reigning abominations, and earnestly prayed for a reform in religion. God also raised up several witnesses of his truth, who openly and boldly declaimed against these corruptions, though they had nothing to expect but imprisonment, death, or exile. And the writings of Wickliffe, which about this time found their way into Bohemia, served to diffuse greater light, and animate the zeal and courage of the servants of God.

The distance of Bohemia and Moravia from the papal territory had hitherto, in some degree, lessened the Pope's influence in these countries, so that many of the doctrinal and practical errors of the Romish church were still unknown here. But about the middle of the fourteenth century, the efforts of the Roman Pontiff, aided by Charles IV. Emperor of Germany, were directed to the total subjugation of the Bohemian and Moravian churches under the see of Rome. Celibacy was enjoined on the clergy, the cup in the eucharist was denied to the laity, and the Latin language was introduced in the performance of divine worship, instead of the vernacular dialect of the country.

Though these innovations were exceedingly disliked by the people, they were obliged to submit, especially as many persons in the higher ranks, through fear of losing their worldly honors, or their elevated stations in the church, yielded to the measures of Government. All, however, were not equally submissive. Even among the clergy some upright characters were found, who protested against the reigning corruptions, and, fearless of human opposition, declared the truth, as far as they had received light from above, both in their addresses from the pulpit, and in their instructions in the schools. They were attended by an immense concourse of hearers, and their success was often surprisingly great. Among these bold confessors of the truth there were some, who distinguished themselves above the rest. One of these was John Militsch, court-chaplain at Prague, and descended from a noble family in Moravia; a learned, zealous, and pious man. His sermons were attended by such numbers, that he frequently preached three times a day, both in the Bohemian and German languages.

His discourses, seconded by his unblamable conduct, had the effect of convincing and reforming many. Among these were three hundred common prostitutes, who lived together in one house. Being satisfied of the sincerity of their repentance and reformation, he put them in a way of earning an honest livelihood, and converted their ill-famed habitation into a place of worship, which was called the Mary-Magdalene church. He established an academy at Prague for the instruction of young men in theology and biblical studies, and by his sermons and writings prevailed on many, both in Bohemia and other countries, to secede from the Romish church. The Emperor, Charles IV. valued him highly: but the Pope hated him. And this hatred was increased in consequence of a journey to Rome, where he bore public testimony against the doctrine and impiety of the Romish clergy. On his return to Prague, therefore, he was put into prison, but soon again set at liberty, through fear of the people, who held him in great esteem. He afterwards travelled into Moravia, Silesia, and Poland, where he died in peace, shortly before the mandate of the Pope had arrived to punish him with the utmost severity as an incorrigible heretic.

About the same time lived Matthias Janowsky. He had studied in Paris, and for some years was father confessor to the emperor. Enjoying the confidence of his Imperial Majesty, he prevailed on him to promote a reformation in the church. The emperor having in consequence applied to the Pope, the latter was so incensed that nothing would satisfy him but the banishment of Janowsky. He however returned after some time, and ended his days in retirement, in the year 1394. His last address to his friends, who surrounded his death-bed, is remarkable. "The fury of the enemies," said he, "has now the upperhand: but this will not always be the case, for there will arise a despised people without sword or power, against whom they will not prevail;" adding that only one of those present would see it. This was verified sixty years after in the case of Wenceslas, who attained so great an age that he lived to see the formation of the Brethren's church of which he became a member.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, God raised up a

faithful witness of his word in Bohemia, in the person of John Huss. The boldness with which he attacked the errors of popery, and the success which attended his labors, are almost incredible. While they were beheld by his friends with delight and admiration, his enemies, viewing them as destructive to their cause, determined to rid themselves of so powerful and dangerous an opponent. He was cited before the council of Constance, condemned as an incorrigible heretic, and suffered martyrdom at the stake on the 6th of July 1415.* A year after his faithful friend and coadjutor Jerome of Prague shared the same fate.

The more moderate party in the Council objected to these proceedings, as fraught with injustice, and highly impolitic, tending to exasperate the whole Bohemian nation, and kindle the flames of war. Subsequent events proved, that their apprehensions were but too well-founded. The Bohemian nobility, joined by the university of Prague, sent a very spirited letter to the Council, complaining of the insult offered to the whole nation, by committing John Huss to the flames, a man universally respected for his doctrines, his talents, and piety. The Council, who had previously threatened all who should favour his doctrines with excommunication, did not deign to reply, but issued a circular, commanding the adherents of the papal communion in Bohemia, to assist, by every means in their power, in the extermination of all heretics.

This exposed the Hussites† to new and dreadful persecutions. They were publicly excommunicated by the Pope, and thrown into prison. Their property was confiscated, and a reward offered for apprehending any who might betake themselves to flight. Hundreds were cast into the deep shafts of the mines near Huttenberg, some drowned, and others committed to the flames. An upright Hussite clergyman, after suffering many cruelties, was, together with three farmers and four boys, placed on a pile of wood. Being once more exhorted to abjure all heresy, the clergyman replied—"God forbid! we would,

* A brief sketch of his life and martyrdom will be given in the next section.

† The name given to those who had espoused his cause.

if it were possible, endure death not once only, but a hundred times, rather than deny the truth of the gospel, solemnly revealed in the Bible." While the fire was kindling, the clergyman, clasping the children in his arms, began a hymn of praise, in which all joined till they were suffocated by the flames.

Nor were these cruelties confined to Bohemia. The rage of their enemies pursued the Hussites into foreign countries. Kraso, a rich merchant of Prague, who was at Breslaw in Silesia, on business, had in the course of conversation betrayed his attachment to the doctrines of Huss. This was too heinous a crime to remain unpunished, and he was thrown into prison. The next day a student from Prague was, on a similar charge, committed to the same prison. Kraso, observing his companion greatly dejected through fear of the torture he might have to suffer, endeavoured to encourage him, and thus addressed him—"My brother, how great is the honour to bear a public testimony for the Lord Jesus! Let us cheerfully suffer for his sake. The conflict is short; the reward eternal. Let us remember the cruel death the Lord Jesus Christ endured, when he shed his precious and innocent blood for our redemption; and let us call to mind the cloud of witnesses who have suffered martyrdom for the truth." The student, however, had not sufficient fortitude, and retracted his belief in the doctrines of Huss; but the merchant remained faithful, and was led to the stake.

Not all, however, who venerated the name of Huss, and desired a reform in religion, were imbued with the meek and holy spirit of the gospel, which teaches the true followers of the Saviour to deny themselves, and learn of him, not to resist, but patiently to suffer for his sake. Not all were endowed with the zeal and fortitude of martyrs, and ready, like their leader and others, rather to sacrifice their lives to the truth, than disgrace the gospel of peace by employing carnal weapons in its defence. Many indeed were sufficiently enlightened, to discern the falsehood and absurdity of the tenets and rites imposed on them under the name of religion, and to detect the perfidy and vices of those, who claimed it as their sole prerogative to explain the Holy Scriptures, and controul the faith of the nation; but they were still in a great measure ignorant of the

true nature of the kingdom of Christ, which is not to be *extended* by the sword of the warrior, or the din of arms, but by the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and by the small still voice, speaking to the heart and conscience, and teaching its subjects that heavenly wisdom, " which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy, and good fruits, without hypocrisy, and without partiality."

In the mean time, the Council of Constance, to which the Hussites were still looking for a redress of their grievances, was dissolved in 1418, without passing one conciliatory act. Two years after, Pope Martin V. published an edict accusing them of the most damnable heresies, and calling upon emperors, kings, and princes, *for the sake of the wounds of Jesus, and their own eternal salvation*, to assist in their extirpation.

Those among the Hussites, who were disposed to defend their religious liberties by force of arms, considered this as the proper moment for commencing their operations. Under their renowned leader, Zisca, they commenced and carried on war for thirteen years, with remorseless cruelty on both sides. Without entering into a detail of the battles that were fought, and the victories that were won, it is sufficient to remark, that Zisca was almost uniformly successful, and at length found himself and his followers in peaceful possession of the whole kingdom of Bohemia. The emperor, Sigismund, after repeated defeats, acknowledged the superiority of Zisca, and sent deputies to him with proposals of peace. A place was fixed on for a congress, and the Bohemian general set out to meet Sigismund. But on his way thither he was infected by the plague, and died at the castle of Priscow, on the 6th of October, 1424. His body was buried in the great church of Czarlow in Bohemia, where a monument was erected to his memory with the following inscription:—HERE LIES JOHN ZISCA, WHO HAVING DEFENDED HIS COUNTRY AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENTS OF PAPAL TYRANNY, RESTS IN THIS HALLOWED PLACE, IN SPITE OF THE POPE.

Among those who had ranged themselves under the standard of Zisca, there existed much diversity of opinion on religious subjects, which ended in open rupture. Persons of rank and learning insisted chiefly, and almost exclusively, on the resti-

tution of the cup in the eucharist to the laity, and were called *Calixtines.** Others contended for the abolition of all popish errors and ceremonies. These, for the sake of greater safety, performed divine worship on a mountain, fortified by Zisca, and called Tabor. From this circumstance they received the name of *Taborites.* Their party consisted of the most upright followers of Huss, and was daily augmented by vast numbers, who flocked to them from all parts of Moravia and Bohemia. They separated from the Calixtines, and were persecuted by them.

After the death of Zisca, Procop, or Procopius, became the leader of the Hussites; the war was renewed, and raged with unabated fury for several years. For the purpose of effecting a reconciliation, a general Council assembled at Basle in 1431, to which both the Hussite parties were invited. The Taborites for some time refused to send deputies, alleging that general Councils, instead of benefiting the church, had hitherto only tended to rivet the chains of papal domination on its members. At length Procop resolved to go; and when solicited by his friends to demand a passport for his protection, exclaimed—"Passport! need we any other passport than our swords?" He was accompanied by Cosel, another leader of the Taborites. They were received at Basle in the most extraordinary manner, and the respect shewn them fell little short of what is usually paid to princes. The magistrates received them at the gates of the city, and the greater part of the inhabitants went out to meet them, and gazed at them with astonishment. In repeated conferences they sought to convince the Council of the necessity of reform, and to obtain, for themselves and their countrymen, that religious liberty, which on scriptural principles, they had a right to demand. But this was a novel doctrine to the Council, and generally disliked; and though the deputies were treated with civility, they soon found that they had gained nothing, and returned to Bohemia, fully convinced, that, under existing circumstances, no general Council would ever espouse the cause of pure Christianity.

* From the Latin word, *calix*, a cup, whence the term chalice is derived.

The other party, the Calixtines, likewise attended the Council. In point of number, rank, property, and worldly distinctions, they exceeded the Taborites, and the deputies shewed more willingness to accommodate existing differences. They promised obedience and subjection to the papal see, on condition that the following four points, called the Bohemian compact, were conceded :—

1. That the word of God shall be freely preached by able ministers, according to the Holy Scriptures, without the addition of human inventions.

2. The Lord's Supper shall be administered unto *all in both kinds,* and divine worship performed in the mother tongue.

3. Open sins shall be openly punished, according to the law of God, without respect of persons.

4. The clergy shall exercise no worldly dominion, but preach the gospel.

The Council professed their readiness to accede to the wish of the deputies, and even commended them as good children of the church. Its insincerity, however, soon became manifest. Of the four conditions, only the second was actually complied with. And in the sequel the Pope totally disannulled the Bohemian Compact.

Emissaries were sent into Bohemia by the popish party, with the professed object of bringing back the people to the true faith ; but they secretly used every exertion to widen the breach between the Calixtines and Taborites. In this they succeeded but too well : for the Taborites were generally dissatisfied with the concessions made at the Council ; and the Calixtines, being through the persuasions of Rokyzan, their deputy at the Council, prevailed upon to be content with the use of the cup in the sacrament, took up arms against their brethren. The Taborites were totally defeated : Procop fell on the plain of Breda, and his followers were dispersed. Those who escaped the ravages of the sword, fled to mount Tabor ; where the emperor permitted them to settle, and follow their own religious opinions.

Aeneas Sylvius, a popish writer, who visited this colony, gives the following account of it :—" In the square stood the temple, a wooden structure, hardly superior to a country barn.

Here they preached to the people; here they expounded their doctrines, here stood their unconsecrated altar, and here even the holy sacrament was administered. Their priests were unornamented except by beards of immoderate length. Tythes were entirely disallowed. The clergy had no property; but were supplied with all necessaries, in kind, by the people. Images were wholly forbidden. No prayers to saints were permitted; no holidays; no set fasts; no canonical hours. Half the sacraments were discarded. Religious houses, or monastic institutions, were considered as an abomination. Their baptismal font was unconsecrated. Their dead were buried in unhallowed ground. They were, however, punctual in their attendance on divine service, and made use of severe penalties to enforce reverence for it!"

During these transactions in Bohemia, the doctrines of Huss were spreading in Poland, by the labours of Procopius Rasus, and others. They promoted the translation of the Bible into the Polish language; and such was their success, that divine service was performed in the church of the holy cross in Cracow, in the vernacular tongue, by Bohemian clergymen. But here too the torch of persecution was soon lighted; and in 1439, five Bohemian teachers were publicly burnt at Posen, by authority of the popish bishop.

Rokyzan, the Calixtine deputy at the Council of Basle, was fully convinced of the truth of the doctrines taught by Huss; but the hope of being promoted to the archbishopric of Prague, induced him to be satisfied with the before-mentioned compact, and in other respects to use his endeavours to preserve the Bohemians in union with the church of Rome. In 1435, the Consistory elected him archbishop; but the pope refused to confirm the election, and to invest him with the archiepiscopal dignity, unless he would consent to give up the Bohemian Compact altogether, and even the use of the cup in the sacrament.

On receiving this decision, he appeared willing to promote a general reformation in religion, being zealously urged to this by the more pious of his hearers. Nor did he content himself with verbal professions; for by his exertions at the Diet in 1450, he prevailed on the different estates of the kingdom, to

send a deputation to Constantinople, and solicit a re-union with the Greek church, from which the Bohemians had first received the gospel. But before this could be effected, the Turks took Constantinople, and thus terminated the Greek empire.

Every hope of receiving assistance from this quarter being thus extinguished, the Taborites entreated Rokyzan, with increased urgency, to undertake a general reform of all popish errors in doctrine and ceremonies, and besought him, for the glory of God, and from love to the souls of men, not to forsake them in this extremity, but to deliver the people from the fatal delusion by which they were ensnared. Their importunity displeased him; for, though convinced of the truth of their cause, he was of too temporising a spirit, to be willing to give up his worldly honours, and suffer reproach for the name of Christ. He did indeed acknowledge the necessity of reformation, but alleged as an excuse for his want of zeal, that the majority of the Hussites were still too rude and ignorant; adding, that all he could do was to advise the more pious among them, to form an association, and edify themselves in private by prayer and reading the Holy Scriptures, and edifying books; and having presented them with a few, he dismissed them in an angry manner, desiring them to trouble him no more.

In some time, however, he relented, and obtained permission for them from the reigning sovereign, George Podiebrad, to retire to the lordship of Litiz, on the confines of Moravia and Silesia, which had been laid waste during the war, and there to establish a colony, and regulate their worship and discipline according to their consciences. By this permission the foundation was laid for the ancient Church of the Brethren.

## SECTION III.

### *Life and Martyrdom of* John Huss *and* Jerome *of Prague.*

Among the bold confessors of divine truth, during the struggle for religious liberty in Bohemia, no one is more deserving of our notice than John Huss; not only on ac-

count of his personal virtues, as a servant of God; but because the Church of the Brethren originated among his followers.

John Huss was born in the year 1373, at Hussenitz, a village in Bohemia. His parents gave him as good an education as their limited means allowed; and by his genius and application he successfully overcame the difficulties, which the want of affluence threw in his way. He pursued his studies in the university of Prague, and in 1408 obtained the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and was appointed Professor of Theology. A private citizen of Prague, having built the church called Bethlehem, for the purpose of having the gospel preached both in the German and Bohemian languages, Huss was nominated minister of it, and commenced his clerical functions in the year 1409. Sophia, consort of Wenceslas, king of Bohemia, appointed him her confessor, and highly esteemed him.

The writings of Wickliffe were the means used by God for illuminating the mind of Huss with divine truth. When these writings first came into Bohemia, Huss was greatly prejudiced against them, having been condemned by the pope as heretical. Yet this did not deter him from perusing them, and the more carefully he compared their contents with the Bible, the more was he convinced of the truth of the doctrines advanced by Wickliffe. Such was his veneration for him, that he used to call him an angel sent from heaven to enlighten mankind; and often remarked, that it was the happiest moment of his life, when he became acquainted with his writings; and that he looked forward to his meeting with that great and good man in heaven, as an event which would heighten his everlasting felicity.

As long as Huss chiefly censured the vices at court and the profligacy of the people, the clergy were unanimous in their commendations, and represented him as one by whom the Spirit of God spake to man. But when he began to protest against the power of the Popes, the sale of indulgences and other errors and superstitions, and insisted that the Holy Scriptures contained the only rule of faith and Christian practice, they changed their tone, and denounced him as an incorrigible heretic.

Some persons of rank, who had taken offence at his free

censure of their vices, complained of it to Wolbrant, archbishop of Prague, the king being present. The prelate sent them away with this answer: "Huss took an oath at his ordination, that he would speak the truth without respect of persons." Not long after, when Huss attacked the vices of the clergy, the archbishop requested the king to silence him. The Monarch replied in his own words: "Huss, you know, promised at his ordination to speak the truth without respect of persons."

Undismayed by the gathering storm, Huss continued boldly to declare the truth and defend the evangelical principles contained in Wickliffe's writings, strongly commending their perusal, together with the holy scriptures, to the students. His reputation, both as a professor and preacher, increased daily and procured him the esteem of many, especially among those to whom his ministry had been rendered useful, and their number was not small. His exemplary life gained him the respect even of such, as were not savingly influenced by the doctrine he taught.

The well-earned popularity of Huss, and his growing success, now began to alarm his adversaries. Archbishop Shinek, Wolbrant's successor, issued a mandate for the suppression of Wickliffe's works. This man was so ignorant, that after his elevation to the archiepiscopal see he had to learn to read; in consequence of which he was, by way of derision, called *Alphabetarius*, or the A B C doctor. Huss resolutely opposed the mandate, and being joined by the members of the university of Prague, appealed to Pope Gregory XII. The appeal was indeed received; but the new prelate, wishing to ingratiate himself with his holiness, represented in such strong terms the danger, to which the church was exposed from the wide spreading *heresy* of Huss and his followers, that a papal bull was issued, commanding that Wickliffe's works should be burnt.

Armed with this authority, the Prelate lost no time in having it executed: Huss and his friends entered a solemn protest against these proceedings, and appealed to pope John XXIII.*

* It is a very curious fact, that at this period there were *three* Popes, i. e. *three infallible heads* of the church, each having his partizans

who summoned him to appear in person at Rome. This however was dispensed with, through the intercession of the royal family and nobility of Bohemia, and the members of the university of Prague, and his defence committed to three proctors. After several fruitless endeavours on their part to accommodate matters, Huss was declared contumacious, and excommunicated; and by a papal interdict, all religious worship was suspended in the city of Prague.

These unjust proceedings did not abate the zeal of Huss. He commended his cause to Jesus Christ, and published a solemn appeal to HIM, as the only Head of the church. In order to lessen the confusion and agitation which prevailed in Prague, in consequence of the papal interdict, he retired to his native village, and preached there and in the neighbouring towns, and even in the open fields, those doctrines which he knew and felt to be the power of God unto salvation to all who believe. His success equalled his zeal; the knowledge of the gospel was widely diffused, and those things which were intended to impede its progress, rather accelerated the march of divine truth. During this retirement he wrote and published several treatises, exposing the more palpable errors and absurdities of popery.

In the year 1414 Pope John XXIII. convened the celebrated Council of Constance, before which Huss was summoned to appear. He cheerfully obeyed the summons, and declared, that he deemed it an honor to have so fair an opportunity afforded him for clearing himself of the imputation of heresy; for at that time he had not the remotest idea of separating from the Romish communion, firmly believing that all the doctrines *he* taught, were in perfect accordance with the articles of the Romish confession, and that his opponents were as much the enemies of the church as of himself. In all the towns, through which he passed, he was received with enthusiasm, and the street and roads were thronged by people of all ranks.

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and living in open hostility against one another, and each styling himself the *true* vicar of Christ on earth; viz. Gregory XII. at Rimini, John XXIII. at Rome, and Benedict XIII. at Avignon.

This furnishes no doubtful proof of the veneration, in which he was generally held throughout Germany.

At his request he was furnished with testimonials of his orthodoxy by the archbishop Conrad, and bishop Nicholaus of Nazareth, who was president of the tribunal, instituted for judging heretics. The king, whose esteem for Huss, was greater than ever, appointed three of the principal noblemen to accompany him, viz. Wenceslas von Duba, John von Chlum, and Henry von Laczenbock; and gave him a recommendatory letter to the fathers of the Council. Before his journey Huss wrote a letter to his friends, of which the following is an extract:—

"Believing and beloved brethren; you know, that for a long time I have faithfully instructed you, teaching no false doctrines, but the pure word of God. For I have always sought your salvation; I seek it still and shall continue to seek it as long as I live. Abide in the truth, and rely on the mercy of God, who hath made known to you the truth, through me your minister, that you might experience and defend it. Beware of those who preach false doctrine. I am now going to meet many and violent adversaries, as will clearly be seen, if they treat me as an enemy, and bear false witness against me. At the Council I shall find more enemies than formerly rose up against our Saviour. First, among the bishops and ecclesiastics, next, among the temporal princes, and lastly, among the pharisees. But I rely on God, my almighty Saviour. He will, according to his promise, and through your prayers, give me a mouth and wisdom, that I may be able to resist them; and, by the power of his holy Spirit, may so firmly adhere to the truth, that even the gates of hell shall not make me deny it. Yes, He will give me grace to encounter, with courage and intrepidity, every temptation, imprisonment, and even a cruel death. For Christ has suffered for his friends; and left us an example, that we should patiently suffer for his sake. For He is God, and we are his creatures; He is Lord, and we are his servants; He the Sovereign of the universe, and we feeble children of men; He needeth nothing, we are needy beings. Hath he suffered,

why should not we suffer? Especially when sufferings serve to purify us from sin. Truly, it is impossible for any to perish who believe in Him and continue in the truth. Therefore, my beloved, pray without ceasing, that he may give me his Holy Spirit, to endow me with constancy, and preserve me from offending him. Pray also, that if my death can in any wise glorify his name, it may not be delayed, and that he would afford me grace patiently to endure all the sufferings which await me.

" But should my return to you be more profitable, then let us pray to God, that I may return from the Council with an unimpeachable character, that is to say, that I may in nothing discredit the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ; but rather, that, in future, we may increase in the knowledge of the truth, and entirely eradicate the doctrine of antichrist, and thus leave our brethren a good example for their imitation. I very much doubt, however, that you will see me again in Prague. But should it please Almighty God to restore me to you, we will the more cheerfully advance in the knowledge and exercise of his holy word. Our joy will then be the greatest, when God shall gather us together unto his eternal glory. He is merciful and righteous, and giveth his people peace and rest here and hereafter. May he who hath washed us, his sheep, in his own precious and holy blood, which witnesseth our eternal salvation, preserve you and give you grace, that you may do his will, and having done it, may enjoy peace and eternal glory, through our Lord Jesus Christ, together with all who continue steadfast in his truth. ' To him be glory for ever and ever, Amen'!"

On his arrival at Constance, instead of being permitted to defend his cause before the *whole* Council, he was cited to appear before the Pope and Cardinals. After a fruitless remonstrance on his part, he at length yielded, and accompanied the bishops of Augsburg and Trent to the pope's council chamber. Every method was tried to confound him and induce him to recant; but in vain. His answer was, that he would rather die, than *knowingly* propagate a single error, but that he was ready, when convinced of errors, to revoke them. Though the Cardinals professed to be satisfied with this answer, Huss was not suffered to return to his lodgings, but, contrary to the promise of his

Holiness, and in defiance of the Emperor's safe conduct, was put into confinement.

His place of confinement was a dungeon in the tower of a Franciscan monastery near Constance, into which light was admitted only through a small aperture in the wall. Here he occupied himself in writing letters to his friends in Bohemia, exhorting them to remain firm in confessing the truth, and entreating them to pray for him, that he might have grace given to suffer, not only imprisonment, but death itself, for the name of the Lord Jesus. He also composed several tracts for publication.

Being seized with a violent complaint, and his enemies fearing that he might die, while the doctrines he had taught remained uncondemned, he was again cited before the Council. The messenger, who brought the citation, found him stretched on a pallet. Adverting to his extreme debility, which was sufficiently evident from his emaciated form, Huss addressed the messenger in these words—"Do I seem like a man fit to defend a cause in a public assembly? Tell your masters what you have seen. But tell them also, that if they will only allow me an advocate, I will not refuse even in this condition to join issue with them." The Council, however, refused him an advocate; and farther proceedings were suspended. By degrees he recovered from his illness, and was removed to the castle of Gottleben, beyond the Rhine, where new cruelties were inflicted on him. He was put in irons, and chained to the floor.

This unjust treatment of Huss excited general indignation. Petitions for his liberation, or at least, his speedy trial, were prepared, and issued by the university of Prague, by nearly the whole body of the Bohemian nobility, and by many other persons. But, neither the Emperor, nor the Council, nor the four Presidents of the nations under which the members of the Council had been ranged, were disposed to listen to these petitions; they had previously resolved on the condemnation of Huss.

At length, however, the emperor Sigismund, was prevailed on to fix a time for his trial, which continued three successive days. The charges preferred against Huss, were either wholly

unfounded, or consisted of the grossest misrepresentations of the tenets advanced by him. Whenever he attempted to speak, he was overpowered by the noise and clamour of his adversaries: and when he referred to the bible as the only test, either of the truth or falsehood of the doctrines he had propagated, he was loaded with insults, and denounced an obstinate and incorrigible heretic. Finding their threats ineffectual, they tried the art of persuasion, and by soft speeches, and fair promises, sought to extort a recantation from him. But he remained firm, and declared, he would rather die at the stake, than deny what he, from the heart, believed to be the truth of God's holy Word.

The Council having pronounced him an *arch-heretic*, he was conveyed back to his dungeon. Thither his faithful friend the baron of Chlum followed him, and took leave of him with these words: "My dear Huss, I am a man of no learning, and unfit to advise so learned a person as you. If you are convinced of any error I venture, however, to advise you to retract it; if NOT, to endure whatever punishment shall be inflicted, rather than act against your conscience. Be of good cheer, suffer yourself rather to be deprived of life, than of the truth of God's holy Word."

The short interval between his condemnation and execution, Huss employed in preparing himself for death, that being strengthened with power from on high, he might meet it with Christian fortitude. He wrote many letters to his friends, and to the people of his former charge at the Bethlehem church in Prague, which were privately conveyed by the Bohemian lords. In that, addressed to his former flock, he writes, "My dear friends, let me take this last opportunity to exhort you to trust in nothing here, but to give yourselves entirely up to the service of God. Well am I authorised to warn you not to trust in princes, nor in any son of man, for there is no hope in them. God only remaineth steadfast; what HE promises, he will undoubtedly perform. For my own person, I rest solely on his gracious promise. Having endeavoured to be his faithful servant, I fear not that I shall now be deserted by him! Where I am, saith the gracious promiser, there shall my servant be. May the God of Heaven preserve you. This is probably the

last letter I shall be enabled to write. I have reason to believe that to-morrow I shall be called on to answer with my life. Sigismund has in all things acted deceitfully. I pray God to forgive him; you have heard in what severe language he has spoken of me." In another letter to one of his friends, he says, "I am far from the strength and zeal of the Apostle Peter. Jesus Christ hath not given me his talents; besides I have more violent conflicts, and a greater number of shocks to sustain. I say, therefore, that, placing all my confidence in Jesus Christ, I am determined, when I hear my sentence, to continue steadfast in the truth even unto death."

While still in prison, he was visited by several bishops, cardinals, and princes, who tried every art to induce him to recant. But he remained unmoved; promising, however, to retract any thing he had spoken or written, if proved to him from the Word of God to be erroneous.

On the day fixed for his execution, he was once more brought before the Council, in presence of the emperor, the princes of the empire, and an immense concourse of people. A sermon was preached, and the charges preferred against him were read one by one. He solicited permission to vindicate himself, but was denied this liberty. Sentence being passed upon him, he knelt down, and with great fervour commended his cause to Jesus Christ, the righteous Judge of all.*

No time was now lost for executing the sentence. His books were burnt before his face; upon this he was habited in the vestments of a priest, with a chalice in his hand. The bishops next proceeded to tear off a part of his robe, as a token of his being deprived of the priestly office, and accursed of God. One of them addressed him in these words: "Thou cursed Judas, who, having forsaken the council of peace, art entered into that of the Jews, we take this chalice from thee, in which is the blood

* He is reported to have addressed these words to his judges: "A hundred years hence you shall answer this to God and me." This saying was considered by his friends, as prophetic of the Reformation, which commenced a hundred years after. Huss suffered martyrdom in 1415, and in 1517 the Reformation was begun by Luther.—*See A. Comenius' History.*

of Christ." The martyr replied, "I place my trust in the Lord Jesus Christ; he will never take from me the cup of salvation; yea, I firmly believe, he will give me to drink of it this very day in his kingdom." Finally, they put on his head a paper mitre, (on which figures of devils were painted, and the word ARCH-HERETIC written in large characters) pronouncing these words: "We deliver thy body to the civil power, and thy soul to the devil." Huss replied: "I rejoice to wear this crown of ignominy for *his* sake who wore a crown of thorns for me." They repeated: "We commit thy soul to the devil." "But I," said the martyr, "commit my spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus! unto thee I commend my soul, which thou hast redeemed!"

The ecclesiastical power having now exercised its authority to the uttermost, it remained for the emperor to give orders for the final execution of the sentence against Huss. He doomed him to the flames, and commanded the duke of Bavaria to see the sentence promptly executed. The martyr was escorted by 800 soldiers to the place of execution. On the way he sang psalms and hymns with such composure and lively joy, that his enemies remarked, that he went to death as if he were going to a wedding feast. When he reached the stake he knelt down and prayed with great fervency. The spectators were so much struck by his behaviour that some exclaimed: "What this man spoke in the house we know not; but surely he prayeth like a Christian." He was now tied to the stake with wet cords, and a chain fastened round his body. Before the fire was kindled, the Duke exhorted him to revoke his errors. He replied, "I have no errors to revoke; I endeavoured to preach Christ with plainness; and I am now prepared to seal my doctrine with my blood." As soon as the faggots were lighted, Huss, having once more commended his soul to God, began to sing a hymn, which he continued till he was suffocated by the smoke. Thus was this faithful confessor of the truth honored to be ranked with those worthies of old, "who overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and loved not their lives unto the death." His countrymen long cherished the memory of Huss. His name and character were held in high veneration; and for many years, the

day of his martyrdom, July the 6th, was observed in Bohemia with religious solemnity. Before the close of the year 1415, in which he suffered, the principal nobility of Bohemia sent the following testimony to the Council of Constance, in honor of his character. "We know not from what motives you have condemned John Huss, Bachelor of Divinity, and preacher of the gospel. Ye have put him to a cruel and ignominious death, though convicted of no heresy. We protest, with the heart as well as with our lips, that he was honest, just, and orthodox; that for many years he had his conversation among us with godly and blameless manners; that during these many years he explained to us the gospel, and the books of the Old and New Testaments, according to the exposition of the holy doctors, approved by the church; and that he has left writings behind him, in which he abhors all heresy. He taught us to detest everything heretical. He exhorted us to the practice of peace and charity; and his own life exhibited a distinguished example of these virtues."

Not satisfied with consigning Huss to the flames, the Council of Constance shortly after proceeded to the condemnation of his faithful friend and co-adjutor, Jerome of Prague, who has been called the Lay Reformer, because he was neither a monk nor an ecclesiastic: yet he had studied in several universities, and was possessed of considerable erudition. He travelled to England, and spent some time in the university of Oxford. Here he perused the writings of Wickliffe, and on returning to his native city, avowed himself a disciple of this forerunner of the Reformation. And finding that the same tenets were held, and zealously propagated in Bohemia, by John Huss, an intimacy soon commenced between them, which was never interrupted: and as during their lives they had been associated in the defence of evangelical truth against popish errors; so they were honoured to be companions in tribulation, and to seal their testimony with their blood, in the same place and in the same manner.

Contrary to the entreaties of his friend, Jerome followed him to Constance, where he arrived towards the end of April, 1415. All his endeavours to obtain a hearing in the Council, in order

to vindicate his opinions and character from the malignant aspersions of his enemies, proved ineffectual. This determined him to return to Bohemia; but he had not proceeded far, when he was arrested, loaded with chains, and conducted back to Constance. He was cited before the Council, under pretence of instituting an examination into the doctrines he held; but his fate had been previously fixed, and the clamour assailed his ears from every quarter: "Away with him, burn him, burn him!" After standing for some time in mute astonishment, he at length exclaimed: "If nothing but my BLOOD can satisfy you, God's will be done."

Hereupon he was conveyed to a dungeon, to await the determination of the Council. One of his friends, through a crevice in the wall, accosted him in these words—"Fear not, Jerome, to die in the cause of that truth, which you have defended in life." He replied, "I have LIVED defending the truth: the harder task, to DIE for it, yet remains. But God, I trust, will support me against flesh and blood." This conversation was overheard, and Jerome was in consequence removed to a tower. His head was fastened to a post in such a manner as to render it impossible for him to move it. In this torturing posture he was kept for two days, and but scantily supplied with bread and water. This brought on a severe disease, and Jerome sent for a confessor to prepare him for death.

His adversaries considered this a favourable opportunity to obtain their point. Every artifice of persuasion and menace was tried to induce Jerome to recant. Long he remained firm; but at length his constancy forsook him, and he read, though with the most evident reluctance, his recantation in the very words prescribed by his enemies. His fetters were now knocked off; but with the grossest perfidy he was still retained in prison; and new charges were advanced against him. The Council were divided in opinion. The moderate party deprecated all further proceedings against him, on the ground both of injustice and impolicy. But their arguments had no effect. A new trial was instituted, and the most violent and bigotted of his enemies were appointed his judges.

This roused the spirit of Jerome. He abhorred their per-

fidiousness; he saw he had no favour to expect from those, whose "very mercies were cruel." His recantation stung his conscience, and he earnestly implored the pardon of God, and determined cheerfully to sacrifice his life in the defence of the gospel. With more than heroic boldness he appeared before his judges, replied to all the charges brought against him; and finally disowned his recantation, declaring it to be the most enormous crime he had ever committed; and bitterly lamented, that the fear of torture and death, had so far prevailed over him, as to make him defame those holy men of God, Wickliffe and Huss. Like his friend Huss, he was condemned to be burnt.

When the sentence was pronounced upon him, he said—"You have condemned me to death unjustly, but I shall leave a sting in your consciences, and a worm that shall never die. I appeal to the sovereign Judge of all the earth, before whose tribunal I cite *you* to appear." When he arrived at the stake, he kneeled down and prayed, commending his soul to God. The executioner coming behind him to kindle the fire, Jerome called out—"Come forward and kindle it before my face." His last audible exclamations were—"O Lord, have mercy upon me, and pardon my transgressions. Thou knowest I have loved thy truth." He suffered martyrdom on the 30th of May, 1416.

# PART I.

# HISTORY

OF THE

# PROTESTANT CHURCH

OF THE

# UNITED BRETHREN.

## PART I.

Containing an Account of the Origin and gradual Increase and Extension of the Brethren's Church in Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland, till the total Suppression of its Ecclesiastical Constitution.

# CHAP. I.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER, FROM THE YEAR 1457 TO 1517.

## SECTION I.

*A company of Hussites retire to* LITITZ—*Their number is increased—Form a religious Society by the name of* UNITAS FRATRUM—*Endure heavy persecutions—Elect their own Ministers—Convene Synods—Obtain* EPISCOPAL ORDINATION—*A projected union with the Waldenses is frustrated.*

FROM the time when Huss commenced his labours as a preacher and Reformer, in the year 1400, to the settlement of a small remnant of his followers in the Lordship of Lititz, in 1451, half a century had elapsed. During that period there had been an incessant struggle between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, the kingdom of God, and the powers of Satan. Many a valuable life had been sacrificed either in diffusing and defending divine truth, or in propagating and supporting error and falsehood. Many immortal spirits had been cited to appear before their Maker and Judge, some to receive the crown of life, and others to answer for their enmity to Him and his people. All the while God was secretly working and maturing his own designs; designs which no human ingenuity can accelerate, and no human opposition retard. The faith and sufferings of the Hussites in Bohemia, like those of the

Waldenses in Italy and France, and all their predecessors, who under the banners of the Captain of salvation, had gone forth conquering and to conquer, served to illuminate the dark regions of the earth, to spread the knowledge of the Lord, and to bring nearer the fulfilment of divine prophecy—" The kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heavens, shall be given to the saints of the Most High."

The conflict in Bohemia, though attended with atrocities, which make human nature shudder, terminated to the glory of God and the benefit of his church. The cruelties exercised towards the Hussites, taught them what the true followers of Jesus have to expect from a wicked and unbelieving world, which, while it retained the Christian name, virtually denied the doctrines of Christianity, and trampled upon its precepts. It served to separate the precious from the vile among the great mass of the professed friends of Huss ; among whom there were many, who, assenting to the tenets he held, had not imbibed the same spirit of meekness and constancy ; and though they admired his faith, were not prepared to share with him the martyr's crown. When the strong arm of power was exerted to crush the rising cause, and arrest the progress of divine truth in Bohemia, by the banishment of its friends, that very circumstance eventually tended to diffuse the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and extend pure and undefiled religion.

The genuine followers of Huss, being reduced to a very small number, availed themselves of the Emperor's permission, and retired to the lordship of Lititz. From this small remnant originated a branch of the Christian church, which in ancient and modern times, and under every vicissitude of repose or persecution, has, by the blessing of God, firmly adhered to the doctrine of Christ crucified ; and considering its slender means, has not been behind others in zeal and perseverance, in propagating the truth as it is in Jesus.

In the year 1453 many citizens of Prague, together with some of the nobility, and learned men from different parts of Bohemia and Moravia, removed to Lititz. Their number increased so rapidly, that in three years they occupied several villages. They attended the ministry of some Calixtine cler-

gymen. Among these Michael Bradacius deserves to be particularly mentioned. He was parish minister in the town of Zamberg, and a pious and venerable old man. He and other ministers of similar sentiments, abolished many superstitious ceremonies, introduced stricter discipline, and admitted none to the Lord's Supper, without previous examination. This displeased the less serious part of their congregations, and offended the neighbouring clergy; who lodged a complaint against them before the Consistory as innovators. Bradacius and his friends were forbidden to preach and administer the sacraments, and other ministers were appointed in their places. These, in order to ingratiate themselves with their superiors, filled their sermons with invectives and curses against the followers of Huss, who in consequence absented themselves from their ministrations, and laid their grievances before Rockyzan and his suffragan, Lupacius, soliciting an impartial investigation.

The former paid no attention to their complaints, but the latter took their part. He had belonged to the Taborites, and after their suppression had joined the Calixtines. The advice he gave them was to the following effect— "Continue," said he, "to prosecute your work with confidence and firmness; consider the obstacles thrown in your way, as a call not to look for help to others; but deliberate among yourselves on the best means of framing an ecclesiastical constitution of your own, and commit the ministry to worthy men of your own party. Take the primitive church for your model, both with regard to purity of doctrine and strictness of discipline. Hereby you will indeed greatly exasperate the heads of the Roman Catholic party, and also those who are unwilling entirely to separate from the reigning church; but do *you* fulfil the will of God, and take care of your own souls' salvation. Recollect the severity of the conflict, sustained in former times by those, who defended the pure doctrine of Christ. But the holiness of his church can never be promoted or preserved by the effusion of blood, murder, and other acts of violence. This requires order, legitimate government, and a strict, unbending discipline, the neglect of which is the cause of the present degeneracy. It is my most sincere wish, that you may succeed in obtaining ministers

for yonr congregations, elected from your own body and duly ordained."—Similar advice was given them by other Calixtine clergymen, particularly by Stephanus and Martinus Germanus, who thereby brought disgrace and persecution upon themselves.

Convinced that the measure proposed by Lupacius was the only one, which, under existing circumstances, could be adopted, with any prospect of safety and success, the followers of Huss in Lititz, in the year 1457, formed a close union among themselves. They chose Michael Bradacius for their minister, who left his cure at Zamberg, and moved to Kunewalde, which appears to have been a principal retreat of these people. Here, under the patronage of Gregory, a conference was convened, consisting of the more pious Calixtine ministers from the adjacent villages. In this assembly they agreed on certain fundamental principles, founded on no human rules and traditions, but on the law of Christ. These principles formed the basis of their ecclesiastical constitution. They called themselves *Brethren* and *Sisters;* and assumed the general appellation of Fratres legis Christi, i.e. Brethren *of the law of Christ.* But as this appellation was liable to be misunderstood, and convey the idea of a new monastic order, they exchanged it for that of Fratres, (Brethren,) and, after many persons of similar religious views, in different parts of Bohemia, had joined their union, they adopted the name of Unitas Fratrum, i. e. *the Unity of the Brethren*, or *the United Brethren;* and this name has been ever since retained.*

Their first endeavour was to prepare the ground-work of a regular ecclesiastical constitution, which might closely unite all the members of their church. They adopted as a fundamental principle, the doctrine taught by John Huss, that *the New Testament supplied the only infallible rule for the guidance of Christians in this as in all other things, and that all regulations not enjoined by the Word of God, or fairly deducible from it, were to be viewed as mere matters of expediency, and might be altered, according to circumstances.* They next proceeded to elect, by majority of votes, three elders, to whom they com-

* Both in ancient and modern times the term *Brethren's Church*, or simply *Brethren*, has been generally substituted for that of *Unitas Fratrum.*

mitted the general superintendence of all their concerns. These were the before-mentioned Gregory, a man of acknowledged piety, wisdom, and insight into divine things, which procured for him the respect due to a father and patriarch of their church. The other two were Procopius and Clenovius. They introduced strict discipline, which was exercised without respect of persons. Finally, they unanimously adopted the resolution, *To suffer all for conscience sake, and not to use arms in defence of religion, but to seek protection from the violence of enemies, by prayer to God, and by dispassionate remonstrance.*

Though the Brethren were a poor and despised people in the eyes of the world, yet He in whose name they were united, and who had doubtless directed their visible separation from the merely nominal church, smiled upon their undertakings, and did not suffer them to remain barren and unfruitful. By his blessing their union served to accelerate their advancement in scriptural knowledge and evangelical practice; and they zealously improved the short season of tranquillity which they enjoyed, for promoting pure and undefiled religion. Their separation from the established church, and the union they had formed, could not long remain concealed. Their number was increased by many sincere enquirers after divine truth, and congregations were formed in different parts of Bohemia and Moravia, who joined their union.

These favourable occurrences were soon followed by events of a very opposite nature, and which put the faith and sincerity of the Brethren to a severe trial. Enraged at their success, many of the Calixtine priests joined the Roman hierarchy in plotting their destruction. They were not only denounced incorrigible heretics, but accused of a design to renew the disturbances of the Taborites, and foment sedition, in order to seize the reins of government. A citation was sent them to answer to these accusations before the Consistory in Prague. On the appearance of their deputies, Rokyzan, who formerly approved and even advised their separation, fearful of losing his dignity in the church, now withdrew his patronage, and severely censured their conduct as highly imprudent, and the extension of their union as a most daring act, which could tend only to ex-

cite disturbances. The reigning sovereign, George Podiebrad also, though favourably disposed toward them, refused them his protection, because he had solemnly sworn, on his accession to the throne, to extirpate all heretics.

Thus after enjoying repose for three years, the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia were exposed to the first fierce persecution. Though they could satisfactorily disprove every criminal charge alleged against them, they were declared outlaws, expatriated and despoiled of their property. The sick and infirm were, in the depth of winter, driven into the fields, and many perished with cold and hunger. Others were cast into prison, confined in horrid dungeons, kept for whole days without food, put to the rack, their hands and feet lamed, and their bodies quartered, or burnt. By these tortures their adversaries hoped to extort from them a confession that they were plotting rebellion, and a disclosure of their associates. Failing in this, they left the few who had survived the tortures, to shift for themselves.

During this persecution, the Brethren in Lititz, who were less exposed to its fury, sent messengers to every town and village in Bohemia and Moravia, where the members of their union resided, to comfort and encourage them to faith and patience. On one of these visits, Gregory came to Prague. A number of the Brethren were assembled in a house for the purpose of celebrating the Lord's Supper. While thus engaged, a magistrate, who secretly favoured them, sent and advised them to separate. Gregory, considering it to be the duty of Christians not needlessly to expose themselves to danger, admonished the assembly to seek for safety in instant flight.* Others, however, were of a different opinion, and said—"No: it is written, 'he that believeth shall not make haste.'† Let us take our meal in peace, and await the consequences." Some young students, in particular, boasted, that tortures and the stake were considered as trifles by them.

Their conversation was soon interrupted by the appearance

* See Matt. x. 23.

† Isai. xxviii. 16. The Bohemian translation is—"He that believeth does not flee."

of some persons sent to apprehend them, headed by a justice, who thus addressed them. "It is written, 'All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.' Follow me, therefore, at the command of government." Hereupon a royal mandate was issued, ordering to put them to the torture, in the hope of eliciting a confession of seditious designs. Most of those, who before had boasted of their fortitude, now denied their faith through fear of the rack. Gregory on the contrary was not intimidated. While on the rack, he fell into a swoon, and was supposed to be dead. On hearing this, his uncle Rokyzan hastened to the prison, and, with tears in his eyes, and in a plaintive tone, exclaimed—"O my dear Gregory, would to God I were where thou now art." Gregory, however, recovering from his swoon, was set at liberty, and in the sequel became a principal leader in the Brethren's Church. He lived to a very advanced age.

Meanwhile the Consistory in Prague had procured a royal edict, prohibiting the performance of divine service *without ceremonies*, and declaring all clergymen guilty of felony, if they administered the Lord's Supper *without the ceremonies usual among the Calixtines.* This edict was specially levelled against the Brethren, who were mentioned in it by the opprobrious name of Picards.* Hereby they were subjected to new difficulties. They were indeed like sheep in the midst of wolves, and had no human Shepherd to interest himself in their behalf. In this distress, they resolved once more to apply to Rokyzan, hoping that the sensibility he had manifested at the supposed death of his nephew, would induce him to espouse their cause. They entreated him, as the first ecclesiastic in the kingdom, to whom had been committed the spiritual care of all Bohemians, to exert his authority and influence, for promoting a general reformation in religion; or, if he found that impracticable, at least to take upon himself the direction of *their* affairs, which would clear them of the charge of making a schism in the church.

* This name was given to the Waldenses in France. Its application to the Brethren shews the similarity in doctrine and principles of the two churches.

A letter, written to him by the Brethren, is still extant, the insertion of which, it is presumed, will not be unacceptable to the reader. It is as follows:—

"Your sermons have been highly pleasant and grateful to us. You earnestly exhorted us to flee from the horrible errors of antichrist, revealed in these last days. You taught us that the devil introduced the abuses of the sacraments, and that men placed false hopes of salvation in them. You confirmed to us from the writings of the Apostles, and from the example of the primitive Christians, the true doctrine of those divine institutions. Being distressed in our consciences, and distracted by the variety of opinions that prevailed in the church, we were induced to follow your advice, which was to attend the ministry of Peter Chelezitius, whose discourses and writings gave us a clearer insight into Christian truth, in so much, that when we saw your life and practice were at variance with your doctrines, we were constrained to entertain doubts concerning your religious character. When we conversed with you on this occasion your answer was to this effect: 'I know that your sentiments are true: but if I patronize your cause, I must incur the same infamy and disgrace which you do.' Whence we understood that you would desert us rather than relinquish the honors of the world. Having now no refuge but in God, we implored him to make known to us the mystery of his will. As a gracious father he hath looked upon our afflictions, and heard our prayers. Trusting in our God, we have assembled in the unity of that faith, by which we have been justified through Jesus Christ, and of which we were made partakers through the image of his death, that we might be the heirs of eternal life. Do not imagine that we have separated ourselves from you on account of certain rites and ceremonies instituted by men: but on account of evil and corrupt doctrines. For if we could in connection with you have preserved the true faith in Christ Jesus our Lord, we never would have made this separation."*

Finding all their endeavours to induce Rokyzan to espouse their cause, which they viewed as the cause of God and of true

* Milner, Vol. IV. p. 282.

religion, ineffectual, they finally took leave of him in these words: "Thou art of the world and wilt perish with the world." Words dictated, no doubt, by honest zeal, but not tempered with Christian prudence. The consequence was, that the Archbishop now became one of their bitterest enemies, and obtained a new royal edict, ordaining that *these dangerous people* (the Brethren) *should no longer be suffered to remain in Bohemia and Moravia,*

The bishop of Breslaw, Jodocus Rosenberg, however, disapproved of persecution, observing that the blood of martyrs only tended to increase the number of heretics. The edict was, therefore, so far mitigated that, instead of imprisoning the Brethren, they were driven from their possessions and expelled the country. They sought an asylum in the mountains, the thickest forests, and the clifts and recesses of rocks, far removed from the society of other men. They kindled their fires only in the night, lest their places of retreat should be discovered by the smoke. And during the winter, when snow lay on the ground, they used the precaution when going out, to walk one after the other, the last person dragging a bush after him to erase the marks of their feet.

It may easily be conceived, to what hardships the Brethren must have been exposed during this period. Yet all the privations and sufferings they endured, were amply compensated to them by the rewards of a good conscience, and the divine consolations they derived from the perusal of the scriptures, and spiritual conversation. In these exercises they often spent whole nights. But personal edification, though it claimed their first regard, was not the only object which engaged their attention. They felt for their children and posterity, and were solicitous to perpetuate to generations still unborn, a form of sound words and a pure administration of divine ordinances, from which they themselves had derived so much spiritual benefit.

Much of their time therefore, was occupied in deliberating on the best means for preserving and extending purity of doctrine and scriptural discipline in their church. By the advice of their elders the most respectable members of their union, who

lived dispersed through the country were occasionally convened to a Synod. In these assemblies they endeavoured to perfect the Constitution of their Church, taking for their guide, next to the Bible, the order of the primitive church. They also bound themselves to the observance of certain rules for the regulation of their intercourse with each other, their conduct towards friends and enemies, and their allegiance to the king and government.

Let it be recollected, that most of these assemblies were held in the forests, exposed to detection by their enemies, that many who attended them had to travel a considerable distance with great inconvenience and personal danger (for the Brethren were still a proscribed sect, whom any one might injure and even murder with impunity) and we shall be constrained to admire their zeal and fortitude in the cause of religion, and to revere the watchful care of divine Providence over them.

A most important subject of deliberation, both at their Synods and at other times, was how to maintain a regular succession of ministers, when those who now exercised the ministry among them, and who had previously been ordained among the Calixtines, were dead. For the purpose of coming to a final decision on this point, a synod was convened in 1467, and met in the village of Lhota, in the house of a person of the name of Duchek. Seventy persons were assembled at it, consisting of ministers, noblemen, scholars, citizens, and peasants, deputed by the several congregations of the Brethren in Moravia and Bohemia.

The Synod was opened with fasting, prayer, and reading the Scriptures. After much deliberation, they came to a unanimous resolution, to follow the advice of Lupacius and others, and to elect their ministers from their own body. With the example of the election of Matthias before them,* who was appointed by lot, they conceived that they were not acting contrary to Scripture by adopting the same mode, and they reposed implicit confidence in the Lord, who alone hath the disposal of the lot,† that, in a case of such emergency as the present, which involved such important consequences to their whole Church, He would counsel them according to his will. They first nominated

* Acts i. 15—26. † Prov. xii. 33.

twenty men, from among whom *nine* were chosen, being in their opinion duly qualified for the office of the ministry, men of approved piety and irreproachable conduct, and possessing a thorough knowledge of divine truth, and much practical experience. Of this number they determined that THREE should be appointed *by lot* for the ministerial office. Being thus agreed on preliminaries, they prepared twelve slips of paper on three of which they wrote the word EST, (this is the man,) and left the other nine blank. All the twelve slips of paper were then rolled up, put into a small vase, and mixed together.

Hereupon Gregory addressed the assembly, admonishing them to be fully resigned to the direction and will of God, our heavenly Father, to whom they had referred the decision, *whom* of these nine men He chose to become ambassadors of his Son in the church. He encouraged them confidently to expect, that God would hear and answer their prayer. After this they repeated their supplications to the Lord, entreating him so to overrule their present proceedings, that the affirmative lot inscribed with the word EST, might be received by such only of the nine men, previously nominated, as *He himself* designed to appoint to the ministry, or if none of the present candidates were approved by *Him*, he would cause each of them to receive a blank, or negative lot. Prayer being ended, they called in a little boy, directing him to hand one of the slips of paper to each of the nine men, who gave them *unopened* to other members of the Synod. On opening the papers it was found, that the three inscribed with EST had been received by Matthias of Kunewalde, Thomas of Preschelauz, and Elias of Kreschenow. The whole assembly now joined in a solemn act of thanksgiving to God, joyfully receiving these three men as pastors and teachers, and promising them obedience by giving them the right hand and the kiss of peace. The transaction was closed with the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

The Brethren, however, soon found that the work was not yet complete. In their own estimation the appointment of these men for the ministry of the gospel, in the manner described, was sufficiently valid; but they knew it required something more to give it equal sanction with the religious public. They

required regular ecclesiastical ordination. In order to discuss this important subject, another Synod was convened before the end of the year. In this assembly two questions were principally agitated.

The first was, whether ordination by a number of Presbyters was equally valid with that performed by a bishop? The decision of the Synod was to this effect:—That Presbyterian ordination was consonant to apostolic practice* and the usage of the primitive church, which might be proved from the writings of the primitive fathers; consequently the newly elected ministers might be ordained by those now exercising the sacred functions of the gospel among them, and who had previously been Calixtine clergymen in priests' orders. But, as for many ages no ordination had been deemed valid in the reigning church, unless performed by a bishop, they resolved to use every possible means for obtaining episcopal ordination; that their enemies might thus be deprived of every pretext for discrediting the ministry among them.

This decision involved the second question, which was, to what regularly organized community of Christians the Synod might look for episcopal ordination. There could in reality exist but one opinion on this subject. For it was highly improbable, that any bishops connected with the Romish church, would transfer this privilege to the Brethren; and besides this church, they knew only one other Christian community, to which they might apply with any hope of success. This was the Waldensian church. Several circumstances encouraged the Brethren to apply in this quarter. The Waldenses had existed for a long period as a distinct body of Christians, they constituted a regularly organized society, tracing the succession of their bishops from the times of the Apostles; they had on a former occasion come to the assistance of the Brethren,† and now had several congregations in Austria, served by their own bishops and ministers.

Conformably to these resolutions of the Synod, they elected three of their ministers, who were already in priests' orders, and sent them to the Waldensian bishop, Stephen. Having

* 1 Tim. iv. 14 † See p. 3. and 14.

informed him of the object of their visit, the state of the Unity of the Brethren, and the transactions of the Synod, he received them with demonstrations of the most cordial joy; and in his turn related the leading events in the history of the Waldenses, and gave them an account of their constitution, and the succession of their bishops. Hereupon he ordained these three presbyters bishops of the Brethren's church, with imposition of hands, being assisted by another bishop, and in presence of the elders. Of these three first bishops of the Brethren's church, Melchior Bradacius is the only one whose name has been handed down to posterity. He had from the very commencement of the Church of the Brethren rendered it essential service, and merited an honourable distinction. Of the other two, one had previously exercised the ministry among the Waldenses, and the other in the Romish church.

Scarce had these bishops returned to their Brethren, when it was resolved to convoke another Synod. This assembly was principally occupied in amending and completing their ecclesiastical constitution. In order to this, their first public act was the ordination of the three men, lately appointed by lot for the ministerial office, Presbyters of the Brethren's church. One of them, Matthias of Kunewalde was, before the close of the Synod, consecrated bishop. They then proceeded to the appointment of ten Co-bishops, or conseniors, elected from the body of presbyters. No doubtful proof this of the increasing number of congregations and members, in connexion with the Brethren's church.

Another subject of deliberation at this Synod was the expediency of forming a union with the Waldenses. The Brethren, on their part, were satisfied with their purity in doctrine, and the general piety of their lives; but they considered them reprehensible for not confessing the truth with sufficient boldness, and retaining some superstitious rites, in order to avoid persecution. The Synod, therefore, sent a deputation of three of its members to the Waldenses, exhorting them to "repent and do their first works,"* and proposing the union of the two churches. The bishops and elders of the Waldenses acknow-

* Rev. ii. 5.

ledged their departure from the piety, zeal, and fortitude, of their ancestors, promised amendment, and joyfully acceded to the proposed union. "A rare instance this," as Crantz justly remarks, "of a fast declining community acknowledging its errors and deviations, and being willing to accept the proffered help." But the projected union was defeated, in consequence of the disclosure of it by some of the Waldenses, who were unwilling to share in the reproach and hardships to which the Brethren were exposed. The opposers, however, gained nothing by their temporising. For no sooner had the contemplated union become public, than a bloody persecution was set on foot against the Waldenses, during which many were burnt alive, among whom was their last surviving bishop, Stephen. The remainder were dispersed and fled into other countries. Thus in this instance likewise the words of Jesus were verified: "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it."*

Many of the Waldensian refugees in the sequel came into Moravia and Bohemia, and joined the Church of the Brethren; whereby its congregations in the neighbourhood of Landscrone in the lordship of Lititz, and of Fulneck in Moravia, received a considerable accession of numbers.†

## SECTION II.

*Persecutions with intervals of repose—The Brethren translate the* Bible *into the Bohemian language—Send deputies into different countries.*

When it became known, that the Brethren had obtained a regularly organized ecclesiastical constitution, their enemies meditated new schemes for their destruction. In 1468, Rockyzan procured an edict at the diet of Prague, enjoining the different States, to use their best endeavours for apprehending as many of the Brethren as they could, leaving it optional to do with them what they pleased. The scenes of distress which follow-

* Luke xvii. 33. Matt. xvi. 25.

† It appears that Fulneck in Moravia and the districts of Lititz and Landscrone in Bohemia, were principal seats of the Brethren. The Moravians and Bohemians who, in 1722 and following years, revived the Brethren's church, came from these districts.

ed are indescribable. All the prisons in Bohemia, especially in Prague, were quickly crowded with Brethren. Many perished with hunger, others were treated with the utmost barbarity. Those who escaped had, as on former occasions, to conceal themselves in the forests and caves, where they often endured extreme misery. This persecution raged, with little abatement, till the year 1471, when king Podiebrad died. Rokyzan had died a few days before in despair.

Uladislas, the successor of Podiebrad, was a mild and benevolent monarch. He had indeed consented to a new edict for the extirpation of the Brethren, but on an humble petition from them, vindicating their conduct against the foul aspersions of their enemies, and imploring his protection, he rescinded the above edict; and they enjoyed rest and peace for some years.

This season of repose they diligently improved for grounding their congregations in the truths of the gospel, and for regulating their external government and discipline in such a manner, as, according to their insight and the peculiar exigencies of the times, seemed best calculated to strengthen the bonds of their internal union, by promoting brotherly love among its members, and training them from their very youth to the self-denying, no less than the more active, virtues of Christianity.

While the Brethren were thus employing their short respite from suffering in imbibing more of the spirit of the religion of Jesus, which teaches good-will towards all men; their adversaries were secretly laying schemes for their destruction. For this purpose they in the year 1476, bribed a man of a worthless character, who pretended that he had been an Elder among the Brethren, but had left their society from pangs of conscience, and now as a proof of his sincere repentance, was willing to make a disclosure of their blasphemies and wickedness. He was led about through several towns and villages, and brought into the churches. With the appearance of great sanctity, he assumed the garb of a penitent, and related to the people, who flocked together in crowds, the pretended errors and enormities of the Brethren, warning all true Christians, whose prayers he implored, against them as the worst of heretics. To such places as he could not visit himself, written copies of his accusations were

sent, signed by the most respectable ecclesiastics. These were publicly read from the pulpits, accompanied by the most solemn warnings. No vindication on the part of the Brethren was of any avail, and they had nothing to expect but the insults and ill-treatment of an ignorant, deluded, and enraged populace. At this time, however, their fears were speedily dissipated. Their calumniator, weary of being dragged from place to place, at length openly confessed, that he was totally ignorant of the Brethren, having never been in their society, and that their enemies had, by bribery, prevailed on him to come forward as their accuser. And this very circumstance, by the over-ruling hand of divine Providence, instead of injuring the cause of the Brethren and diminishing their church, served only to increase their congregations and extend their influence. For, as the calumnies of this fellow excited general curiosity, many went secretly to the religious meetings of the Brethren, to see and hear for themselves, and being convinced of the falsehood of the crimes laid to their charge, joined their union.

This gross imposture having entirely defeated its own object, the adversaries resorted to a more subtle measure. They professed a willingness to accommodate matters, and even to form a union with the Brethren, and in this view proposed a conference in the university of Prague, to be attended by delegates from both parties. But this scheme, as might be expected, proved equally abortive.

Not discouraged by this second failure the adversaries still persisted in their plots of extermination, and in 1481 succeeded so far that the Brethren in Moravia were banished the country. Many of these exiles travelled through Hungary and Transylvania into Moldavia, where they are said to have occupied three large villages, being kindly received and protected by the Hospodar Stephen. But being disgusted by the savage and superstitious conduct of the inhabitants, and tranquillity having been restored, they returned to their own country in 1487.

Some of their bitterest enemies were found among the Calixtines. The true cause of this was, that the Brethren had not united with them, but formed an ecclesiastical constitution of their own. Irritated at this the Calixtines aimed at their

entire extermination. To effect their purpose they renewed the old accusations, founded on answers given by the Brethren to sundry questions proposed at a conference held in Glatz in 1480; but which were either grossly misconstrued, or purposely falsified. The following may serve as a proof of the base manner, in which their opinions were perverted. To one of the questions, the Brethren had replied, "That Christian churches might differ in their religious ceremonies, provided they were not contrary to the command of Christ and his Apostles, without being thereby excluded from salvation." From this, their opponents inferred, that they believed all heretics would be saved. Another answer was couched in these words: "Christians ought to suffer patiently and not resist evil, even though it were inflicted by the Turks." Hence their enemies accused them of considering the war against the Turks, in which the Emperor was then engaged, as unlawful, &c. Did the Brethren solicit an examination into their doctrine, their opponents replied:— "They have adopted the doctrine of the Waldenses, who have been condemned long ago; they themselves have been examined and found in error; what need we any further witness? We have heard it from their own lips."

Desirous to avoid all appearance of schism, and to put a stop to further persecutions, some of the Brethren were of opinion that it would be right to form a union with the Calixtines, who taught the word of God in purity, led pious lives, and might prove useful to their church. And by this union, they might hope to encrease their influence and enlarge their sphere for diffusing evangelical knowledge. These arguments, however, did not satisfy their older and more experienced ministers, who were more particularly exposed to the malevolence of the Calixtines, and who feared, not without reason, that this measure would gradually work the ruin of their church, by introducing a laxer discipline, and a cold and formal profession of religion among its members.

In order to adjust this difference of opinion, and promote an amicable agreement, the Brethren resorted to their usual expedient, and in 1486 convened a Synod, at which this subject was fully discussed. The resolutions finally adopted serve to throw

considerable light on the opinions of the leading men in the Brethren's Church at that period, respecting a point of no inconsiderable importance in theology, and on which the best and wisest men in all ages have entertained different ideas. These Resolutions therefore are here inserted at length. They are the following: "1. If a minister be found in any other church, who maintains pure doctrine and good morals, the faithful ought to thank God for it; but not to join or receive the sacraments from him, for these reasons: 1. Because it is dangerous for a person to unite again with a church, which he had previously left on account of its errors. 2. Because it may happen that this good minister, when removed by death, may be succeeded by one of a different character. 3. Because such as leave their church, break the social tie which connects them as members of a well-regulated community, where some direct, others obey, but all remain in the unity of the spirit and of the body of Christ. 4. Because the faithful, who, by the grace of God, are richly supplied with spiritual blessings in their own church, cannot, without hazard, go in quest of them among strangers.

II. In case there be many ministers in another church, who are united by proper regulations and good order, and feed their flocks with the pure word of God; the faithful must by no means despise them; yet they ought not to forsake their own church communion and join them; but the Elders in the church must try to ascertain whether it is practicable to unite with them in *one* body. For in the church of Christ all things must be done decently and in order. 1. Cor. xiv. 40.

III. Should the Elders find, that they excel us in the knowledge of the fundamental articles of the Christian religion, we ought to submit ourselves to them, and learn of them. If they do not excel us; we are not on that account to disdain or revile them. Nevertheless we are not to join them, lest by their defects, (though unknown to them, yet known to us) the purity of doctrine among us should be corrupted. We ought to serve them with brotherly affection, that they may attain to clearer light and knowledge.

IV. Finally, we confess, that no community, however numerous it may be, can be called the CATHOLIC (universal)

church, that is, such a church as comprehends the entire number of the faithful, so, as if God had none of his elect out of it. But wherever, in any part of Christendom, the catholic or only saving faith is found in truth, as declared in God's holy Word, *there* is the *holy catholic church*, out of the fellowship of which there is no hope of salvation."

War having broken out in Moravia, the extermination of the Brethren was for a while relinquished, and they enjoyed some repose Unfortunately for themselves, a schism arose in their own body. One party zealously propagated the opinion, afterwards espoused by the Anabaptists in Moravia, that no Christian could consistently hold an office under Government, and bear arms; and accused those who maintained the contrary, that they considered it no sin to defend their religion with the sword. The enemies of the Brethren, glad of a pretext for destroying their Church, seized on this false accusation, and in 1503 prevailed on the king to consent to their extirpation, as a most dangerous sect, who designed to repeat the horrors, committed under Zisca. But many of the States assembled at the Diet, protested against this, averred the innocence of the Brethren, and declared, they would never consent to have their best subjects thus unjustly expelled, and even murdered.

However when the patrons of the Brethren had departed from the diet, their adversaries succeeded in obtaining the king's sign manual to the edict. Being informed of this, the Brethren addressed him in an humble petition, remonstrating against the proceedings of their opponents. Touched by their representations, he nullified the edict; and ordered, that a public conference should be held with the professors of the university in Prague, the members of the Calixtine consistory, and delegates from the Brethren's church. He hoped thereby to effect a union between the latter and the Calixtines.

Though the Brethren had reason to fear, that unfair proceedings might be resorted to at the conference, they deemed it their duty to obey the royal mandate, and defend their cause in public. There were not wanting among them men, both qualified for the undertaking, and willing to engage in it. Before they went to the conference, their names and the object

of their journey were mentioned in all the congregations of the Brethren, who by earnest prayer commended them to the grace of God, and implored his protection for them and their undertaking; being fully aware of the dangers to which they would be exposed. One of their patrons, baron von Portupiz, sent a truly apostolic epistle to one of the deputies. The following extract from it shows the spirit, which at that time animated both clergy and laity in the Brethren's Church: "The love of life is innate in us; but you, my dear Brother, have been enlightened by God and taught, that your life hath been hid with Christ in God; and in order to obtain *this* life, you must die with Christ. You know in whom you have believed, and that he is able to keep that, which you have committed to him, against that day. Be strong, therefore, in the Lord and in the power of his might, that you may fight the good fight, and receive the crown of life. You require not to be taught by me, what is the nature of this conflict; but, it may not be without its use, to remind you of what you already know. Stand fast, my brother, in the Lord. We have indeed, as far as men can do, used all possible prudence to insure your safety, and shall not be wanting herein for the future. But, if the fury of our enemies should prevail, and if it should please God to glorify the name of his Son by your death, be you prepared for it, and ready to say: 'the Lord hath given us this life; the Lord take it again, as it seemeth good unto him.' Farewel, my brother.—Written on the day of St Stephen, the first martyr, (Dec. 26th.) 1503."

God, however, did also this time deliver the Brethren from all their fears. On the very day, which was fixed for opening the conference, the rector of the university of Prague, one of their bitterest enemies, died, and the other members deprecated a public disputation. For, if the Brethren should gain the victory, which they secretly feared, the badness of their cause would have been openly exposed, for the inhabitants were coming in crowds to observe the issue. They, therefore, adjourned the conference to a more convenient season, and dismissed the delegates of the Brethren in peace.

But this calm was of short duration. Their enemies still thirst-

ed for their blood, and by various artifices, by false accusations, and by the solicitations of the queen, whom they threatened with heavy judgments and an unsafe delivery, prevailed on the king in 1506 to sign a new edict for the apprehension of the Brethren. It is related, that when the bishops were drawing up this edict in the presence of the King, he fell on his knees and with tears entreated God to pardon his involuntary consent to this cruel edict, and prevent its execution. The persecution meanwhile commenced here and there. Some of the Brethren were exiled or imprisoned, and others tortured and burnt. They presented an apology to the king, giving an account of their faith, and disproving the calumnies of their opponents. The king, previously inclined to protect them, was easily won, and as the queen soon after died in child-birth, he rescinded the edict.

Two years after, their adversaries made another, but unsuccessful attempt to have this edict embodied in the legal code of the empire. Their project being defeated they grew only the more exasperated, and with incredible tenacity persisted in meditating the destruction of the innocent. God at last permitted them to carry their point, and by the intrigues of the imperial chancellor, Kollowrath and his assessors, at the diet in Cuttemberg, the above edict was in 1510, enacted as a law of the empire.

On his return from the diet, the chancellor stopped at the house of baron von Koldiz. During dinner he related, with great glee, what had been *unanimously* resolved respecting the Brethren. The baron, looking at his valet, who was a member of their church, asked: "What do you say to this, Simon?" The valet replied: "ALL have not yet consented." The chancellor in great irritation, demanded of the valet, who those traitors were, that dared to oppose the will of the States?—Simon, lifting up his hand, boldly answered: "There is ONE seated above, if *He* hath not approved of your counsel, it will come to nought." This reply exasperated the chancellor still more, who, with an oath, and striking the table with his fist exclaimed, "You villain! you shall fare no better than the rest; or, may I never reach home in health." On the road he was seized with an inflammation in his legs, of which he died in a few

days. A similar fate befel Bosek, archbishop of Hungary, and the faithful coadjutor of the chancellor. When alighting from his carriage he wounded himself so dangerously that he did not survive many days.

The awful and sudden death of these two most powerful enemies of the Brethren, intimidated the rest; and it became a kind of proverbial saying among the people: "Whoever is weary of life, need only attack the Brethren." The persecution, therefore, was not general. In most places, no farther precaution was required than for the minister to remain concealed. A few individuals, however, were honoured to suffer for the truth's sake. Thus a nobleman caused six Brethren from the village of Aujest to be burnt in the town of Bor, where he resided. They walked cheerfully to the place of execution, testifying that they died in the faith of Jesus Christ, who was the only propitiation for the sins of the world, and the only hope of believers. One of them called Nicholas, who was in favor with the judge, had the offer of pardon made him, in case he would recant, being allowed a whole year for consideration. Nicholas after a short pause, replied, that, as he would be as unwilling a year hence to deny his faith as now, he would prefer suffering in company of his dear Brethren, rather than hereafter by himself. They all went joyfully to the stake.

In times of persecution Christ has his fan in his hand to purge his floor by separating the chaff from the wheat. Thus it was in Bohemia and Moravia, during the period, which has now passed under review. Those among the Brethren, who had not counted the cost, and were not sufficiently grounded in the faith, apostatized. Their number, however, was comparatively small. The major part endured the fiery trial and joyfully suffered the spoiling of their goods, and the loss of life itself, for Christ and his gospel's sake. Nor was their faith merely passive. Amidst their external troubles, they did not neglect to promote, as far as in them lay, the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom.

A most important undertaking was the translation and printing of the Bible in the Bohemian language. The first edition, translated from the vulgate, was published at Venice about the

year 1470, and was the first known translation of the Bible into any European language. The sale of the sacred volume, hitherto almost unknown, was so rapid, that in a short time two new editions were printed at Nurenberg. The Brethren afterwards established three printing-offices at Prague and Buntzlau in Bohemia, and at Kralitz in Moravia, which for some time were solely occupied in printing Bohemian Bibles.

Being incessantly accused of entertaining separatistical opinions, they resolved to send a deputation into different parts of the world. The deputation consisted of the Consenior Lucas, Mark Kokowiz, Martin Kabatnik, and Caspar Marchicus. The instruction given them was, to make enquiry into the general state of Christendom, in order to discover whether there existed any where Christian congregations, who were free from popish errors, and lived conformably to the rule of Christ and his Apostles, that they might form a union with them. These deputies, being supplied with money by one of their patrons, baron von Portupiz, and by other noblemen, and furnished with letters of safeguard by the king, commenced their journey in 1474, each taking a different route. Having travelled through Greece and Dalmatia, visited Constantinople and Thrace, and several provinces of Russia and Sclavonia, and penetrated into Egypt and Palestine, they returned, after an absence of some years, and brought their Brethren the melancholy intelligence that they had no where found what they sought, and that nominal Christendom every where seemed to be sunk in error, superstition, and profligacy.

The Brethren, however, still persevered in their endeavours; and in 1486 deputed the Consenior Lucas and Thomas Germanus on a visit to Italy and France for the same purpose, and more especially to make diligent search after the Waldenses, many of whom were known to live concealed in those countries. On their return, the deputies reported, that they had indeed here and there discovered some upright souls, who secretly sighed over the prevailing abominations. They had likewise witnessed the burning of several noble confessors of the truth; but that they had no where found a *church*, with which they could unite. This second failure appeared for the time to leave

them nothing to do, but by fervent prayer to commit the cause of the church to her only Head and sovereign Lord, and to watch for any opportunity which might offer to co-operate with other faithful Christians. At a Synod held in 1489, they unanimously adopted the following resolution :—"*That if it should please God in any country to raise up sincere teachers and reformers in the church, they would make common cause with them.*"

Meanwhile the exertions of the celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam for the improvement of literature and scholastic divinity, became generally known. This encouraged the Brethren to apply to him. They therefore sent him their confession of faith, with the request, that he would examine it, and point out any errors he might detect, or, if he found it conformable to divine truth, honor them with a testimony to that effect. In his answer Erasmus expressed his approbation of the confession in general terms, but alleged that his multifarious engagements prevented him from examining it very minutely, and he would advise them to continue their endeavours in stillness. He declined giving them a public testimony of approbation, observing, that, while it would not exonerate them from the charge of heresy, it might prove dangerous to himself, and render his own writings suspected, which had been made useful to many. Yet Erasmus, though unwilling to come forward as the public advocate of the Brethren, was so fully convinced of the goodness of their cause, that he bore a favourable testimony of them in his preface to the New Testament, and defended them against the aspersions of their enemies.

## SECTION III.

### *Sketch of the Doctrine and Constitution of the ancient Church of the Brethren.*

The Brethren having by this time fully organized their Church, this appears the most convenient place for presenting the reader with a brief sketch of its doctrine and constitution.

The DOCTRINE held and taught in the ancient Brethren's church was the very same, which afterwards, at the time of the Reformation, was adopted and propagated by all Protestants.

The hymns in use among them, their public confessions, and their vindications against the calumnies of their opponents, make it sufficiently evident, that in all points of doctrines, necessary to salvation, they did not essentially differ from those maintained by Luther and Calvin and their coadjuters. Hence they received decisive testimonies of approbation from all the Reformers, as will be shewn in the sequel.

Many of those Waldenses, who during the persecutions in France and Italy, had retired to Bohemia, in process of time joined the Brethren's Church. Their reasons for so doing are related in the Preface to their confession of faith, presented to the Emperor in 1535. After shewing at considerable length, that they had found among the Brethren that doctrine and discipline, which, in their view, constituted a christian community, formed on scriptural principles; they sum up the argument in the following manner:

"It is evident, then, that we are neither unbelievers, nor heathen, nor heretics; but christians and members of the church of Christ. We endeavour to form a right judgment of the holy Scriptures, and to appropriate to ourselves and preserve the features of a true church of God, without which no church can exist in the world.

"Primarily we attach to the holy Scriptures *sovereign authority* and hold them most sacred. On them depends the existence of our church, and by them she is governed. We esteem no book, in the whole world, perfect and infallible except the Bible.

"We receive the holy apostolical faith* comprised in twelve articles, without the knowledge of which no one can please the Lord. We believe from the heart, and confess with the mouth, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, whom we honour, worship, and invoke as our Lord and Saviour, and our hope of salvation is placed in Him alone.—In holy baptism, which he himself has instituted, we dedicate all the members of the church to him.—We have, and make use of, the keys of the kingdom of heaven.—We celebrate the Lord's Supper, or the sacrament

* They probably mean the Apostles' Creed.

of the body and blood of Christ, in both kinds.—We know that there is no other ground of hope, but the living God, through faith in Christ:—We have no pleasure in corrupt doctrines; much less are we enemies of Christianity or the Christian religion, as we are falsely accused by wicked men, who are never weary of calumniating us.

"We have received the gospel, preserve it as a sacred deposit, and esteem it as a powerful means of procuring eternal life; or, to use the words of St. Paul, 'as the power of God to salvation to all who believe.' We diligently study it ourselves, and declare it to others, as the principal thing to be known by all, who seek for salvation through faith in Christ. These things indisputably prove, that we as well as our fathers, belong to the holy universal church of Christ, from which we have not deviated in doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, or sacraments.

"Further we endeavour uninterruptedly to abide in close communion with the church, and after death to be admitted to eternal glory. And though, as it respects external forms, we constitute a particular church, and have our separate assemblies; yet the only reason of this is, that we may preach the word and administer the sacraments with greater convenience, and may the sooner make an end of dissensions, which may arise among our brethren. And likewise to enable us to exercise discipline towards disorderly members, to excommunicate those, who live in open sins and reject reproof; and, in case of repentance, to receive them again among the faithful, and admit them to the Lord's Supper. We cannot, therefore, be considered apostates from the universal church, because we adhere to every *essential* article of the church.

"But we do not consider it necessary, that mere ceremonies and the mode of performing divine worship should be every where the same. We believe that these things may be regulated differently, according to the diversity of national character and local circumstances. If care be only taken to preserve the truth as it is in Jesus and faith in him, external forms may at any time be altered, when required by circumstances. For, if ceremonies are not contrary to the spirit of Christianity, they do no injury to it, and their diversity separates none from the

church. Because the Christian religion, or true holiness, is not founded on external ceremonies or forms; but consists in spiritual riches, in righteousness, faith, joy, and peace, and in serving God with sincerity; being built on the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, of which Jesus Christ is the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord."*

With regard to the CONSTITUTION, the following subjects merit attention—the *Offices* in the church and the *Persons* who held them,—the *Government*,—the *Discipline*,—*Ritual* of divine worship, and *religious Ceremonial*.

1. The CLERICAL OFFICES in the ancient Brethren's Church were held by Bishops, Conseniors, Presbyters, Deacons, and Acoluths.

The *Bishops*, or *Seniors*,† possessed the highest ecclesiastical dignity. They were entrusted with the oversight and rule of the whole Church, all the other ministers being subject to their authority. At a Synod held in 1500, after the death of Matthias of Kunewalde, one of the first Bishops of the Brethren's Church,‡ it was resolved that the ecclesiastical government should at no time be vested in *one* man, but be consigned to four or more persons,‖ who were equal in ecclesiastical rank and authority. None were raised to the episcopal dignity, but men whose age, piety, and talents, had gained for them general esteem. They were not distinguished from other ministers, either by temporal rank, or greater revenue; but by an increase of labour and care.

To each bishop was committed the superintendence of a district, or diocese, containing a number of congregations. Their official incumbencies consisted in providing suitable ministers for their several congregations, in making such translocations among them as appeared necessary, in administering encourage-

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* Bud. Coll. Vol. II. p. 627—630.

† As the Bishops of the Romish Church had for many centuries usurped princely authority, the Brethren preferred calling the superintendants in their Church, Seniors.

‡ See p. 59.

‖ There were generally two bishops in Bohemia, two in Moravia, and one and sometimes two, in Poland.

ment or rebuke, as the case might require, in taking care that youths properly qualified were trained for the ministry, and in watching over the maintenance of sound doctrine and strict discipline. They were required to hold annual visitations in their respective dioceses, to supply themselves with correct registers of all the members belonging to each congregation, in order to become acquainted with the personal circumstances of their flock. The inspection of the public libraries and printing-offices was likewise committed to them. When the whole church, or a particular congregation was threatened with persecution, it was the duty of the bishops to suggest proper measures for avoiding the impending danger, or if this was impossible, to administer advice and comfort to the sufferers.

In all important cases, where the decision might be followed by serious consequences to his diocese or the whole church, the bishop was required to submit the case to his brother bishops and conseniors for their joint deliberation, to subject himself to their counsel and advice and acquiesce in their final judgment.

One of the bishops was chosen *President.* It was his office to convene and preside at the Ecclesiastical Council, to open it with prayer, to propound the subjects for deliberation, sum up the arguments, and give the final decision. He likewise appointed the time for holding a Synod, made the requisite preparations for it, and acted as moderator.

Another of the bishops was elected *Secretary*, whose office it was to minute the proceedings and resolutions of the Ecclesiastical Council and the Synods, and enter them in a book. It was incumbent on him when any publications against the Brethren appeared, to notify it to the Ecclesiastical Council, write an answer and submit it to them for correction, if they deemed an answer necessary.

A minister once elevated to the episcopal office, retained it during his life, unless he rendered himself unworthy by misconduct. But not one instance of this kind is on record. Of fifty bishops, who for the space of two centuries had the oversight over the Brethren's Church, not one was deposed. Six or seven were by age and infirmity necessitated to resign.

The *Conseniors* were the assistants of the Bishops; each

having two or three associated with him in discharging his episcopal functions, who supplied his place when he was disabled by sickness or otherwise.

The Bishops and Conseniors were the *public functionaries* of the whole Brethren's Church in ancient times, and constituted what was called the *Ecclesiastical Council*, the first ruling power in the Church, subordinate only to the general Synod.

The three remaining offices were *congregational*, as those, who held them, exercised no duties or rule beyond the limits of that particular congregation, where they were stationed.

Of these the first in order and authority in their respective congregations, were the *Presbyters* or *Ministers*. Their official duties are sufficiently plain. They embraced all those functions, which necessarily belong to a parish clergyman, or the pastor of a congregation. In difficult cases the minister was required to consult his bishop, and to do nothing without his approbation. He was also bound to furnish his bishop, every half year, with a verbal or written account of the state of his congregation.

The appointment of ministers, and their occasional translation from one place to another, belonged to the bishops; and no patron, or congregation, had the right of nominating their own minister, neither was the latter allowed the privilege of canvassing. The conscientious manner, in which the bishops discharged this important part of their office, elicited willing obedience to their decision from both parties. They endeavoured to the best of their judgment, to supply each congregation with such ministers, as were best suited to its peculiar circumstances. If age, or infirmity, rendered a minister unfit for the due performance of his office, they provided a substitute.

At first the Brethren were necessitated to confer the ministry on men, who had not received a classical and scientific education. They chose for that office men of acknowledged piety, well versed in the Scriptures, of a sound natural understanding, "apt to teach," unimpeachable in their moral conduct, and enjoying the esteem and confidence of their Brethren. But after the reformation by Luther, they sent their young candidates for the ministry to one or other of the Protestant universities. They likewise established three colleges of their own at

Bunzlau, Prezerow, and Evanzig. The education of their young men, however, and especially their training for the ministry, was principally committed to the ministers; for the Brethren laid greater stress on piety, moral conduct, and practical knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in persons sustaining the pastoral office, than on human learning; for small as their community was, they had made the melancholy experience, that a more enlarged acquaintance with literature and philosophy had, in some instances, paralyzed the zeal of ministers in promoting the edification of their flocks, and by the false gloss of heathen philosophy, obscured the bright purity of Christian doctrine, which derives all its lustre from Christ crucified.

The *Deacons* were assistants to the Presbyters, considered as candidates for the ministry, and employed in public preaching. Accompanied by one of the Acoluths, they generally went on Sundays to some neighbouring village, for the purpose of preaching. After their return the minister enquired into the subject of their sermon, and their manner of treating it, pointing out those doctrines, which under existing circumstances, it appeared most necessary to impress on their hearers, and suggesting other improvements. In numerous congregations they assisted the presbyters in the administration of the sacraments; and the religious instruction of the children and catechumens was for the most part entrusted to them. On Sunday afternoon they repeated in substance the sermon, delivered by the minister in the forenoon, to the domestics and servants, who could not attend at that hour, adding suitable exhortations.

The *Acoluths* were young men of promising talents and hopeful piety, who were educated for the ministry. Every minister took one, two, or more youths of this description under his immediate care. They lodged in his house, and he directed their studies. They were expected to be obedient and submissive, to assist him in his domestic concerns, and accompany him on his journies. To give them an opportunity of exercising their talents, the elder Acoluths frequently delivered a short address at the family worship. They likewise assisted at the catechetical instruction of the children. Sometimes they read, and expounded a chapter of the Bible, or delivered a short

discourse in one of their private and more select meetings. They as well as the Deacons were occasionally moved from one minister to another.

Some other offices, but not of a clerical nature, were instituted. One of these was that of *Inspectors of buildings.* They ordered and superintended the erection and repairing of churches and school-houses, and all public edifices; for these buildings were not the property of the congregation, but of the Church.

The *Elders* formed another class of officers. Each congregation, in proportion to the number of its members, elected by plurality of votes from three to eight men of approved piety and good report for this office. Their duties consisted in caring for the external wants of the congregation, watching over the moral conduct of its members, and promoting brotherly love, adjusting differences and effecting reconciliation between contending parties, aiding young married people in the regulation of their domestic concerns and the education of their children, and assisting persons in trade with good advice, in order to prevent all disgrace which might arise either from insolvency, or the badness of their commodities. Widows and orphans, the infirm and sick, and the poor in general, received a large share of their attention. Once a quarter they visited in every house, making strict enquiry into the circumstances of the family, enquired from what sources they derived their support; whether they diligently frequented the house of God; performed family devotion morning and evening, &c.? If the master was a magistrate, they enquired whether he exercised his authority with impartiality and justice. If a man in trade, whether his dealings were conducted conscientiously and with fairness?

All their proceedings and conferential meetings were subject to the inspection and control of the minister, to whom they made a regular report after each quarterly visitation. Yet they did not lodge any complaints against an individual, unless he pertinaciously rejected all admonition and reproof.

On the subject of offices, it is only necessary to add, that they had *female Elders*, (presbyterae.) They were elderly matrons, chosen for their office by majority of votes of the female

part of the congregation. Their duties were similar to those of the Elders, only of a more private nature, and entirely confined to persons of their own sex. It was more especially required of them to prevent and oppose every thing which might endanger female modesty and chastity.

2. The GOVERNMENT of the Church. Among the ancient Brethren, the highest ecclesiastical authority was vested in the *Synods*, which were representative assemblies of the whole church. The acts of a Synod, therefore, were considered the acts of the whole community. Consequently its resolutions and enactments became binding on every member of the church, until altered or abrogated by a succeeding Synod.

Synods were held every three or four years, and consisted of the bishops, conseniors, ministers, deacons, and acoluths. In general some of their patrons were also present: so that these assemblies on some occasions amounted to several hundred persons. The object of these meetings was, to strengthen the bonds of brotherly love and unity, to encourage zeal in the work of the Lord, to make needful changes in the constitution of the Church, to ordain bishops and other ministers, to depose the unworthy, and re-admit the penitent.

The place of meeting varied, and was each time left to the decision of the bishops, who, in their choice, were guided by the circumstances of the times, whether they were seasons of repose or persecution. Timely notice was sent to the minister, in whose place of residence it was to be held, in order that he might make the necessary arrangements. When the Synod was convened in Moravia or Bohemia, the congregations in Poland only sent a few deputies; and when the place of meeting lay in Poland, deputies from Bohemia and Moravia attended.

The day previous to the public convocation, the bishops and conseniors met by themselves. They first endeavoured by free and brotherly conversation to adjust all differences which might have arisen among them, and, by unreservedly confessing their faults to each other, by reciprocally asking and receiving pardon, to rekindle the flame of Christian affection, and confirm the sacred union among themselves.

When all the members of the Synod were assembled, they

met in the church, and were in a fatherly manner welcomed by the bishops, who in prayer returned thanks to God for their safe arrival, and commended them and their consultations to his blessing.

Besides the public sessions of the Synod, separate committees were held by the bishops and conseniors, and by the presbyters; each of whom in turn submitted their transactions to each other for consideration, before they were adopted as final resolutions. During their deliberations every one, from the youngest to the oldest, was called on to state his opinion without reserve. Care, however, was taken to prevent needless loquacity, and the introduction of irrelevant matter, and to check every thing like anger or irritation. When all had given their opinion, which together with their reasons were minuted by the Secretary, the President summed up the whole, stating the principal arguments on both sides. But no proposed measure was carried, till all objections had been maturely weighed, and each member had declared himself satisfied. Not till then was a Resolution adopted, and entered as an *Act of Synod.*

Before the assembly broke up, the needful appointments and elections to offices and ordinations took place. One of the bishops delivered a charge to the clergy, exhorting them to the faithful discharge of their duties, and warning them against a worldly and secularizing spirit. The Synod was finally closed by a short address from one of the bishops, in which he exhorted all the members faithfully to observe its resolutions, to the honor of God and their own edification, and in this respect to set a good example to those who were placed under them. Hereupon one of the ministers rose, and in the name of the whole assembly, praised God for the blessings they had enjoyed, and returned thanks to the bishops for their fatherly solicitude, in caring for the necessities of the church and ordaining ministers, for their wholesome admonitions, and the love and friendship they had experienced from them, promising for himself and his brethren, the due observance of their respective duties. The Synod was usually concluded with the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

While the Synod was sitting one of the bishops, or conse-

niors,delivered a public discourse every morning. They also performed the service at the usual hours for prayer, in the afternoon and evening, adding a short exhortation, adapted to the circumstances of the times.

On these occasions the members of the congregation, in the midst of which the Synod was assembled, vied with each other in acts of hospitality. The bishops lodged with the minister, while the other members were accommodated in private families, who received their guests like angels, esteeming themselves highly honoured in ministering to their comforts. They usually dined at a common table, and frequently, when their number was large, under the canopy of heaven. During their meals they engaged in spiritual and edifying discourse. The Deacons and Acoluths had in charge to provide every thing needful for the accommodation of the deputies and their attendants; for some, owing to the distance of their dwellings and the want of public conveyances, brought their own horses and carriages.

Before their departure each bishop received a written copy of the Resolutions or Acts of the Synod. These contained the canons of the Church, and formed the code of laws, by which they were to regulate their own conduct, and govern their congregations. No bishop was at liberty to make the slightest alteration in any of the rules, without the concurrence of the whole Ecclesiastical Council. And in cases of importance, even this was not deemed sufficient; but the unanimous approbation of the Ministers was required, to render any change in the constitution lawful. If at any time a partial change seemed absolutely necessary, and delay appeared injurious, a special, or diocesan Synod was convened. But the transactions of such an assembly were speedily communicated to the other bishops, in order to preserve union and concord.

Next in authority was the *Ecclesiastical Council*, which consisted of all the bishops and conseniors. Their power was delegated to them by the Synods, in whose name they acted, and whose Resolutions they were in duty bound to see executed both by ministers and people. Appeals from the decisions of the Ecclesiastical Council might be made to the Synod.

The government of a single congregation was vested in the

*Presbytery*, or board of Elders, (Presbyterium.) It consisted of the Elders, in conjunction with the minister who was president. The duties of the Elders have been mentioned above. Their rule extended only to their own congregation. At stated times they held meetings for deliberation; which were frequently attended by the deacons, for the purpose of acquiring greater knowledge of the state of the congregation, and of the pastoral office and its duties.

3. The Discipline. Under this head, besides what may be strictly called *Discipline*, we shall mention the *Regulations* of the Church, as they respect the whole, or its several congregations, or individual members, both ministers and people.

The *general Regulations* of the Church were nearly the same in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland. In the latter country some innovations were by degrees introduced, which did not serve the cause.

Each congregation was divided into three classes, the *Beginners*, the *more Advanced*, and the *Perfect*. The first class embraced the youth of both sexes, who had been born within the pale of the Brethren's Church, and likewise such adults as had gone over to them from popery, and who were mostly very ignorant, and therefore received instruction in Christianity together with the young catechumens. When they had attained sufficient knowledge, not only of the letter, but of the meaning of the Decalogue, the Apostle's creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and expressed a desire for admission to the Church, they were received into the class of the *more Advanced*.

These were admitted to the Lord's Supper, and frequently reminded of the covenant, which God had made with his church, into whose visible communion they had now entered. They were exhorted to pray daily and earnestly for the influence of the Holy Spirit, that their faith, love and hope, might increase.

Those were called *Perfect*, who persevered in their endeavours after godliness; whose advance in divine knowledge was manifest; and who, as genuine members of the Church, improved all the means of grace, and were willingly subject to her discipline; and as good soldiers of Christ, subdued the world and the lusts of the flesh, and, while denying themselves,

pressed forward to lay hold on eternal life. From this class the Elders and other officers were elected.

It was the unremitting care of the Brethren, that the members of their Church, should not only possess theoretical knowledge of the doctrines of the Bible, but exhibit their practical influence in their lives. With a view to this they made several regulations for the conduct of its members. The principal of these were the following:

The head of every family was expected, not only to set his children and domestics a good example by his conduct, but to use all possible means for their spiritual welfare. For this purpose he was required to send them diligently to church, to instruct them at home in the truths of the gospel, and to meet for family devotion three times a day, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening.

The frequenting of theatres, and worldly amusements, of public-houses, (without absolute necessity,) and all places of idle resort, was strictly forbidden. Not only open vices, but vanity and immodesty in dress, licentious discourse, all improper intercourse between the sexes, and clandestine courtships were severely censured. All dishonest trafficking and usury were prohibited. None were allowed to engage in a law-suit, without first endeavouring to settle their differences by brotherly arbitration.

None were exempted from the due observance of these rules; not even the nobility and patrons of their church. They had their duties prescribed to them with the same exactness as others, and were especially exhorted not to despise their inferiors, much less to exercise the power or influence, acquired by their rank, for the oppression of the poor, and always to bear in mind, that they were not *Lords*, but only *stewards*, of the wealth they had obtained by the hard labour of their vassals, and therefore not to squander it in idle profusion, but employ it for the glory of God, and the benefit of their poorer neighbours.

No member of their church was allowed to remove from one congregation to another, without the consent of his minister. Whenever, therefore, any one undertook a journey, or found it necessary to change his place of abode, he was furnished by

his minister with a testimonial, and letter of recommendation, and publicly commended in prayer to the blessing of God.

The domestic regulations of the ministers merit a more particular description. Most of them were unmarried men. This was not a *rule* of the Church, but a voluntary act of their own. Being frequently exposed to persecution, they applied to themselves what the Apostle says on this subject, "I suppose, therefore, that this is good for the present distress." (1 Cor. vii. 26.) An idea likewise prevailed very generally, that a minister was less subject to care and distraction, and better able to discharge his office with zeal and punctuality, if unincumbered with a wife and children. These considerations induced many to remain in the single state, continuing instant in prayer and the work of the ministry, and being in their lives patterns of chastity and temperance. If any wished to marry he had to obtain the consent of the bishop, and it was expected that the woman, whom he chose for his partner in life, was one whose virtues had procured for her the esteem of the congregation.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of celibacy among the ministers, their household was not small. Besides the Deacons and Acoluths, every minister had some boys residing with him. All these were committed to his care and instruction, and were early accustomed to punctuality, diligence, submission, and self-denial. For this purpose all the regulations of the family were made and observed with the greatest precision. They rose early, and as soon as they were dressed performed their private devotions. About an hour after, all the inmates and domestics of the house were called together, and joined in singing a psalm; after which the minister, or one of the deacons or elder acoluths, whose turn it was, read a portion of the Bible, adding a short practical application, and concluded with prayer. The forenoon was occupied with studies. At two o'clock they assembled again for prayer. In the afternoon they were employed in manual labor or in the garden; except those who engaged in the instruction of children. The time after supper was spent in acquiring a proficiency in vocal and instrumental music. Immediately after evening prayer all retired to rest. None

were allowed to sit up and study during the night, much less to be out of the house, which was locked at a fixed hour.

During dinner and supper the pupils were examined in their lessons. Sometimes a question in theology was propounded, and a solution demanded from each, beginning with the youngest, the minister reserving his to the last. All the little offices, in the family and in the school, were performed by them in rotation. Without the minister's knowledge none was permitted to go out, to write letters of importance, to buy any thing, to lend or borrow money, make contracts, sign wills, &c. Even the minister was required to inform the bishop when he had occasion to take a journey.*

The ministers derived their income from the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, consisting either in money or provisions. In Poland small farms, besides a garden, were generally attached to their dwellings. Nor were they ashamed to earn something by the labor of their hands, when their congregations were poor, and they could spare the time from their pastoral duties; this was more particularly the case with the deacons; care, however, was taken, that such employments did not trench on the hours, which ought to be devoted to study. Whenever a minister's yearly income, in money, amounted to more than 200 dollars,† he was exhorted to spend the overplus in charity.

It was expected of the ministers, that they would pay the strictest regard to all the moral precepts of the gospel and the rules of the church. They were enjoined not to assume pomp-

* The following circumstance affords a pleasing example of the Christian and primitive simplicity of the Brethren. Whenever a minister, on his journey, stopped over night at the house of a Brother, he was hospitably entertained; every member of the family saluted him, and enquired, with brotherly interest, what was the state of things in his congregation. The acoluths washed his feet, took care of his horses and luggage, and rendered him every little service in their power. Besides giving an exhortation at the family devotion, he held a public discourse in the church; at the close of which he delivered a salutation from his flock, informing his hearers of its situation, &c. This strengthened the bond of brotherly sympathy and union. If he was poor, he was never dismissed without a donation.

† About £34. sterling.

ous titles, but to set the greatest value on the name of brother; yet not to lessen the dignity of their office by a too familiar intercourse with every one, or by indulging in a convivial disposition. They were not allowed to attend fairs and public entertainments.

In order to provide for the necessities of each congregation, public collections were made four times a year. The money thus collected was expended in the necessary articles for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the lighting and repairing of the churches and the minister's dwelling. Any overplus, which might remain, was applied towards the support of poor ministers and exiles, and to assist poorer congregations.—An account of the income and expenditure was annually laid before the congregation.

In the exercise of *Discipline* they observed three degrees; Brotherly Admonition, Public Reproof, and Exclusion from the Church; founded on the word of Christ. Math. xviii. 15.

It was required of all the members of a congregation that they should admonish each other in love, when they perceived a brother or sister overtaken in a fault. If this did not succeed, the offence was mentioned to one of the Elders, or the minister, who in the spirit of meekness endeavoured to bring the offender to repentance, which generally had the desired effect; and in this case the erring member was dismissed with the assurance of pardon, and no farther notice taken of his offence. This was called the *Admonition.*

If no amendment followed the Admonition, the offender was cited before the Board of Elders who reproved him for his misconduct; and if he remained obstinate, suspended him from the Lord's Supper. If his offence had been of a public and scandalous nature, he was summoned before the Elders *in presence of the Minister.* If he acknowledged his transgression he was promised forgiveness on bringing forth the fruits of repentance. During the time of his suspension from the Lord's table the congregation constantly prayed for him. He was likewise enjoined to become reconciled to the congregation, by asking pardon of all whom he had offended, either in person, or, when it was done publicly, through the minister. If his offence

was not generally known, he asked pardon only of the board of Elders, this was called the *public Reproof.*

The highest degree of Discipline, EXCLUSION FROM THE CHURCH, was never resorted to except in extreme cases, when Admonition and Reproof failed of effect, and the offender remained obstinate, and persevered in his wicked ways, without shewing the least sign of contrition and sorrow. In proceeding to this step the utmost caution was observed. It was never left to the minister's private decision, but he was bound to communicate with the bishops on the subject, and await their judgment. Sometimes the whole congregation was called together, and it was left to them to decide, whether the offender was to be excluded, or longer patience be exercised towards him.

When the exclusion of the offender had finally been determined, he was brought before the assembled congregation. The heinousness of his sin, and the punishment he had deserved, were forcibly pointed out, and he was told, that it was agreeable to the will of God and apostolic practice, to "put away every wicked person, and deliver such an one unto Satan."* Then the sentence of Exclusion was pronounced, which the congregation confirmed by saying Amen; though their voices were often choaked by their tears. Hereupon one of the Deacons, or Elders, rose and led the excluded person out of the assembly: the congregation meanwhile offering fervent prayers in his behalf.

The hope of re-admission was never denied to any; on the contrary they were assured, that whenever they gave proofs of genuine repentance and amendment of life, the doors of the Church, like the gates of Heaven, were open to receive the returning prodigal. At the time of re-admission the offender made a penitent confession before the congregation, who welcomed him with joy, and manifested their sincerity by acts of brotherly kindness. This was particularly done on the part of the minister.

This Discipline the Brethren exercised, neither with hypo-

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* 1 Cor. v. 5.

crisy nor tyrannical precipitance, but conformably to the Apostle's rule, in the spirit of meekness, with much long-suffering, in the name and authority of Christ, for the salvation, not for the destruction of sinners, Neither rank nor office exempted from subjection to it. High and low, rich and poor, ministers and people, even nobles, magistrates, and bishops, were obliged to submit to it, or withdraw from the Church. The latter but rarely occurred, for they considered discipline a powerful antidote against the poison of sin, preserving the body corporate and each individual member from its contaminating effects.

They exercised the greatest strictness towards ministers. If one of them had given offence by his conduct, or lost the respect due to his office, and rejected private admonition and reproof, the bishop suspended him, receiving him for a time into his own family. If he refused submission and no amendment followed, he was publicly reproved, generally at a Synod. If he still continued incorrigible and refractory, he was deposed, and in some cases, even excluded from the Church.

4. Ritual of divine worship and religious Ceremonial. The Brethren, being fully aware of the importance of the due and faithful performance of divine worship, took care to regulate it in such a manner, as might best promote the welfare of the Church and its members. With a view to this it was expected of every minister to be "instant in season and out of season," and to improve all his occasional labors, such as Baptisms, Marriages, Funerals, &c. for the edification of his flock. Besides their public ministrations, they held religious meetings separately for the Beginners, the more Advanced, and the Perfect; and likewise for the Married and Unmarried, and the Children, in order to feed each lamb and sheep of their flock with food most convenient for them.

They celebrated the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, &c. and also performed divine service on the days of the Apostles and primitive Martyrs. These, however, were not considered as holy days, every one being at liberty to work when the service was over. But they attached the greatest sanctity to the *Sunday*, considering the sanctification of one day in seven not as a Mosaic enactment, but as forming a part of

the moral law, and consequently of perpetual obligation; the first day of the week, emphatically designated the *Lord's day*, being substituted in the place of the Jewish Sabbath. With them, therefore, every kind of work and all secular business were strictly forbidden on that day, and the intervals between public worship were occupied in religious exercises and acts of charity. Divine service was performed four times; early in the morning, in the forenoon, afternoon, and evening; and during summer there was a fifth service, immediately after dinner, for the catechetical instruction of the young people. None of these services lasted above an hour, except that in the forenoon. They began and closed with singing and prayer. During Lent a sermon was preached every Wednesday and Friday, in the evening, more especially intended for impressing on the hearts of the young the redemption of man by the passion of Christ.

Four times in the year a day was set apart for *Fasting and Prayer*, and strictly observed by abstaining from all food, at least till evening, and engaging in public and private religious services. In times of war and persecution, or when danger threatened the Church, or a single congregation, extraordinary Fast-days were appointed. The same was sometimes done, when a person had been excluded from the church and remained impenitent. On these occasions the whole community wrestled in prayer with God on his behalf, that he might obtain true repentance and conversion of heart.

*Baptisms* generally took place a few days after the birth of a child. The minister having delivered a suitable discourse, the parents and sponsors repeated the confession of faith. The parents were then asked, whether they received the sponsors as their assistants in the religious education of the child. This being answered in the affirmative, and the sponsors having promised faithfully to discharge their duty, especially in case the parents should die, the minister offered up a prayer, beseeching God to cleanse the infant from original sin by the blood of Christ, to regenerate it by the Holy Ghost, and to number it among his elect. Then followed the baptism, with pure water, in the words of the institution in Matth. xxviii. 19. The whole was concluded with an exhortation to the parents and sponsors.

*Confirmation* took place as soon as the young people born and educated within the pale of the church had attained a proper age, and before their admission to the Lord's Supper. Previous to confirmation they were instructed and examined by the minister. On the appointed day they assembled in the church, in presence of the whole congregation, and were ranged in due order, the boys on one and the girls on the other side. The solemnity commenced with an address from the words of Jesus—"Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Hereupon the young people were asked, whether they desired to renew their baptismal covenant. Having answered in the affirmative, they jointly repeated the Apostles' Creed. They were farther asked, whether they were resolved to continue in the faith of Christ to the end of their lives—to keep the promise made for them at their baptism by their parents and sponsors, to renounce the devil, the world, and the flesh—to crucify the old man with his affections and lusts—to devote themselves to Christ—to serve God with true faith and with a good conscience—and to live soberly, righteously and godly, in this world? Then followed a prayer; after which the minister pronounced the form of absolution, and invited them to the Lord's table, and to share in all the privileges of the children of God. Finally he commended them, with imposition of hands, to the blessing of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The *Lord's Supper* was celebrated four times in the year, and occasionally oftener, generally on the great festivals of the Church. This holy ordinance was observed with much strictness and solemnity. The minister, having consulted the Elders, and with their concurrence fixed on the most convenient time for celebrating it, gave notice to his congregation, two or three weeks before, exhorting them to self-examination and a due preparation of heart for this sacred feast. During this season of preparation, every family was required to call upon the minister, who examined them on their growth in grace and knowledge, inquiring more particularly into their moral conduct, and whether in their different relations, as magistrates and subjects, masters and servants, parents and children, &c. they had walk-

ed worthily of their heavenly calling? administering warning, reproof, or encouragement, as the case might require. If any proved obstinate, or impenitent, they were not admitted to the sacrament; and those who absented themselves without a justifiable cause, were seriously reproved. No strangers were admitted without a testimonial from their minister, or a recommendation from a member of the congregation, to whom they were known.

The service commenced with a discourse; in which the minister endeavoured to excite in the communicants spiritual hunger and thirst for the bread and water of life. Instead of *auricular Confession*, there now followed a *public Confession* in the name of the whole congregation. This being ended, the minister pronounced the Absolution, and, in the name of the holy Trinity, invited them to draw near to the Lord's table. The communion table on which the bread and wine were placed, was covered with a white cloth. The minister, habited in a plain white surplice and standing before the table, repeated the words of Institution, adding a short address. Hereupon the communicants came to the table in separate companies. The ministers made the beginning; then followed in regular order, the patrons and magistrates, the elders, the men and youths, succeeded in the same order by the women. When they had received the bread they kneeled down.* During the whole solemnity the congregation sang hymns, treating of the passion of Christ and the benefits of his redemption. When all had received both the bread and wine, the whole congregation kneeled down, and joined in praise and prayer. At the close the minister exhorted them to a godly walk and conversation, and to shew their gratitude to God by deeds of charity to the poor. The congregation was dismissed with the Old Testament blessing. Numb. vi. 24—26.

*Marriages* were solemnized in presence of the whole congregation. The ceremony commenced with a short address

* At first the Brethren received the eucharist standing, in order to avoid what might appear like worshiping the host; but as this had exposed them to a heavy persecution, they adopted the kneeling posture, which they found best calculated to assist devotion.

from a text of Scripture. The bridegroom and bride having pledged their vows to each other, the minister joined their hands pronouncing the following sentence—" What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." Then followed a prayer; and they were dismissed with cordial gratulations, and exhorted to observe moderation and decorum at the festivities attending the wedding.

*The visitation of the sick* formed an important part of the minister's duty. He was expected to perform it with assiduity, and with faithfulness to the patient; reproving, or admonishing, or comforting him, as his circumstances might require. If the sick desired to receive the sacrament, his request was granted; but never without the presence of some others to communicate with him.

At *Funerals* the minister preceded the procession, followed by the school-children, who sang hymns as they walked along, till arrived at the place of interment, where the minister delivered a funeral oration.

Besides these subjects strictly belonging to the Ritual of the Church; there are certain other parts of their RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL, a concise description of which shall close this section.

In the *Admission to the Church* of persons who had renounced popery or joined them from other Christian communities, the following mode was observed. The applicant was interrogated respecting his reasons for seeking fellowship with them, his knowledge of divine truth, and his sense of the utility of church-discipline. If his answers were satisfactory, and his conduct unimpeachable, he was admitted without further delay; but, if otherwise, his admission was deferred for some time. The act of admission was not performed in public, but before the board of Elders. The candidates were asked, if they would promise to obey God and conform to the rules of the Church, to receive instruction, admonition, and reproof, from their superiors, and submit to their authority? If they were willing to bear reproach and persecution for Christ and his gospel's sake, and remain faithful to the truth even unto death? Having pledged their hand in token of the sincerity of their promise, they were

received into communion with the Church, and admitted to share in its privileges.

The APPOINTMENT TO OFFICES and THE ORDINATION of the candidates took place only at Synods. The lowest clerical office was that of the Acoluths. At the appointment of young men for it, the following order was observed. The service commenced with a discourse, treating of the sons of the Prophets* or the mission of the seventy disciples,† or generally of the character of Christ's sincere followers. Those deemed qualified for the office, were then called forward, presented to the Synod, and asked, whether they were resolved to devote themselves to the service of the Church, and promise obedience to their superiors. Their duties being read to them; they promised obedience by pledging their right hand to the bishops. The elder Acoluths then gave them the hand in token of fellowship; and the whole was concluded with invoking for them the divine benediction.

*Ordination by imposition of hands* was used in the appointment of Deacons, Presbyters, Conseniors, and Bishops, to their respective offices.

Deacons were chosen from the order of acoluths. They were first privately examined by the bishops, with regard to their proficiency in theological studies, their knowledge of divine truth, and the sincerity of their devotedness to the service of the Church. After this they were presented to the Synod, the duties of their office (as described in 1 Tim. iii. 8.) were read to them. They on their part promised obedience to Christ and his Church. Now followed a prayer, after which the bishop performed the Ordination. The new deacons then gave the hand to each of the bishops, conseniors, and presbyters, and were received by their brother deacons in the same manner as in the case of acoluths.

The ordination of Presbyters was performed with great solemnity, and all possible care taken to appoint none to the ministry, who did not appear duly qualified.

Every minister attending the Synod, was required to bring

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* 2 Kings ii. † Luke x.

a written testimonial from the board of Elders in his congregation, of the piety and conduct of those deacons who accompanied him, and were considered candidates for ordination.

During the Synod the candidates passed the ordeal of three examinations. First, by all the presbyters, secondly, by the conseniors, and lastly, by the bishops.

The examinations before the presbyters and conseniors were minuted and the protocol sent to the bishops. Those who appeared qualified, were then called to appear before one of the bishops one by one.

The last examination was very strict, and chiefly respected the moral and religious character of the candidate. The bishop represented to him the importance and responsibility of the ministerial office; enquiring whether with a good conscience, and from pure motives, and without any view to honour, profit, and temporal advantages, he was desirous of becoming a servant of Christ? If any part of his past conduct had been blameable, he was plainly told of it, and seriously exhorted to act with more circumspection. The impressive manner in which this was done, often had the effect, that one or other of the candidates, secretly reproved by his own conscience, or reflecting on the inexperience of his youth, requested that his ordination might be deferred.

The rest were encouraged to depend on the assistance of divine grace; and they prepared themselves for the important engagement, on which they were about to enter, by fasting and prayer.

The Ordination took place in a full meeting of the Synod. The service was opened with singing and a sermon treating of the office of the ministry. The ordaining bishop then placed himself at the communion table, read a passage of the Holy Scriptures, and announced to the assembly, that certain persons were now to be solemnly set apart for the exercise of the holy ministry. He then called on the candidates to step forward, and present themselves before God and the congregation. While they advanced, one of the conseniors read their names, and two other conseniors led them to the bishop, saying, "We pray you, Reverend brother and bishop, in the name of the

Church, to ordain these men, now standing in the presence of Christ and before you, to be ambassadors of Jesus Christ, and to confer on them full authority to exercise the sacred ministry, according to the power vested in you by Christ and his Church."

The bishop replied; "Are these men worthy and qualified to take upon themselves this sacred office, and are they endowed with those virtues, which ought to adorn an ambassador of Christ?"

One of the conseniors returned for answer: "God hath endowed them with the requisite talents, they have been carefully instructed from their youth, and, according to the testimony we have received, have led irreproachable lives. We have examined them, and found them sound in faith, and doctrine, and sincere in their desire to serve Christ and his Church; their consciences are pure, and we believe they are called by God and his Church, to undertake the office of the holy ministry, for which they have prepared themselves by fasting and prayer." The bishop rejoined, "The testimony you have now given, before the congregation of Christ, is received, and your request shall be granted in the name of God."

The candidates having solemnly pledged themselves to take heed to their ministry, the bishop thus addressed them. "BelovedBrethren; in order that you may place unshaken confidence in the help of the Lord, hear, I beseech you, how the eternal High Priest, Jesus Christ, hath prayed for you, who, when he was going to present himself to God, as an offering for the sins of the world, fervently prayed to his Father, for all those who should preach his redemption to the nations of the world." Hereupon another bishop read the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel. Then followed the ordination, with prayer and imposition of hands. The assembly meanwhile kneeled, and at the close sung the hymn.

"Come, Holy Ghost, come, Lord our God,
And shed thy heavenly gifts abroad."*

When the assembly had risen, the bishop invoked the divine blessing on the new presbyters, exhorted them to be diligent in

* Brethren's Hymn book of 1809. No. 217.

their labours, and patient in tribulation, to abide in Christ, let his words abide in them, and to go and bring forth fruit, encouraging them with a promise of a rich and eternal reward of grace. The whole congregation added a loud Amen. The usual tokens of respect, and brotherly love and fellowship, were then exchanged between the newly ordained presbyters, the bishops, and other ministers; and the service was concluded with the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

From the order of presbyters, Conseniors were elected. The votes written on slips of paper, were sent sealed to the bishops, and he that had the majority, was declared duly elected, and ordained with imposition of hands, after which he took his seat in the Ecclesiastical Council.

Whenever a new Bishop was to be elected a special Synod was convened. The first day of meeting was solemnly devoted to prayer and fasting. A sermon was preached, in which the duties of the episcopal office, and the necessary qualifications for it, as delineated in the Holy Scriptures, were set forth; and the assembly was earnestly exhorted, to be directed in their choice by this pattern, giving their votes to that man only, whom they conscientiously considered, as bearing the nearest resemblance to it. The service being ended, each bishop, consenior, and presbyter, wrote down his vote, without consulting his brethren. Each vote was sealed, and when all were collected, they were given to the bishops. These held a convocation, for the purpose of opening the papers, not doubting in the least, that he, who had the plurality of votes, was chosen by God himself, to fill up the vacancy in the Episcopal College. The issue remained a secret in their own breasts till the next day.

The whole Synod, being assembled, the President informed them, that God had heard their prayers, and pointed out the man, who, according to his will, was to supply the place, which had become vacant in the government of the church; adding, "he trusted, that the individual, who had been thus nominated, would not be dismayed, or prove disobedient to the heavenly call; but cheerfully come forward and present himself before God and his church." Another bishop then announced his name.

The Bishop elect, having come forward, was asked, whether he considered his nomination as a divine call, and was ready to serve God and his Church? Having answered in the affirmative, the duties of his office, as delineated in the apostolic epistles, were read to him; and he promised to attend on his ministry with fidelity, uprightness, and constancy. Then followed a solemn prayer; at the close of which, the consecration took place, all the bishops joining in laying on their hands. The assembly continued kneeling, while the hymn was sung, "Come holy Ghost, come Lord our God &c." The ceremony being ended, the bishops welcomed their new colleague by giving him the right hand of fellowship and a fraternal kiss. The conseniors and presbyters promised him obedience, and the whole assembly joined in cordial congratulations. The whole was concluded with a hymn of praise.

*Visitations* were held yearly by each bishop in his own diocese; or if unavoidably prevented doing it himself he deputed one of his conseniors. In each congregation, the bishop minutely investigated all its circumstances. He consulted the minister on the state of the individual members of his flock; and inquired into his personal concerns, and his ministerial conduct. Afterwards he convened the deacons and acoluths, questioned them on their devotedness to the service of the Church, their personal piety, their studies, and their intercourse with each other, asking whether they had any complaints to make &c? He likewise had separate interviews with the elders of the congregation, relative to the discharge of their office. The same was done with the female elders. And if the lord of the manor, who always acted as a magistrate, was a member of the Church, the bishop paid him a visit, to hear what observations he might have to make. Accompanied by the elders he inspected the public buildings, the dwelling of the minister, his furniture &c. to see that the buildings were kept in proper repair, and nothing neglected, which might conduce to the needful temporal comfort of the minister.

The bishop also employed his time of visitation for adjusting differences, which might have arisen between the magistrate and the congregation, or between them and the minister; for inducting new ministers, directing the election of elders, and

opening new churches. He likewise delivered sermons and private addresses to the congregation, and never left them without celebrating the Lord's Supper with them.

Every part of their ritual and ceremonial was distinguished by simplicity. Their churches were unadorned, fitted up with plain seats, or forms, the men and women sitting apart. They do not appear to have used any prescribed form of prayer, or instrumental music in their worship. But they delighted in vocal music, and the whole congregation joined in the Singing, led by a Precentor. Their Hymn book went through several enlarged and improved editions. It contained a considerable number of Scriptural hymns, in which the histories and doctrines of holy writ were put in rhyme.

From the preceeding sketch it is evident, that the ecclesiastical constitution of the Brethren was formed on the model of the primitive church. The times in which they lived, and the manners of the age, gave to some parts of it the appearance of greater severity, than may be thought consistent with the mild spirit of Christianity. Inflexible adherence to divine truth, scrupulous attention to the precepts of holy writ, even in their minuter application, and an ever wakeful anxiety to preserve their Church uncontaminated from the corruption, which prevailed all around, infused great gravity into their general deportment, and more than usual strictness in the observance of every religious duty. The whole community resembled a well regulated family, united by the closest bonds of affection, each member endeavouring to supply his quota towards the general good. Ministers from the highest to the lowest, discharged their important trust with fidelity; and thus easily procured, not only respect and honor, but the love and confidence of their flocks, who received their instructions with gratitude, respected their counsels, profited by their reproofs, and "esteemed them very highly for their works' sake." As they had *one* faith and *one* hope of their calling so they were animated by *one* Spirit. "To make their calling and election sure," was their daily study; and thus were they enabled by the grace of God "to witness a good confession," to arm themselves with fortitude in the day of persecution, and be prepared to win the Martyr's crown.

# CHAP. II.

NEGOCIATIONS OF THE BRETHREN WITH THE GERMAN REFORMERS—PERSECUTIONS IN BOHEMIA, AND EXTENSION OF THEIR CHURCH IN PRUSSIA AND POLAND. FROM THE YEAR 1517 TO 1620.

## SECTION I.

*Negociations with the Reformers in Germany.*

THE beginning of the sixteenth century forms one of the most important epochs in the history of the Christian church. After a long night of intellectual and spiritual darkness, barely rendered visible by the scanty rays of scriptural light, bursting forth here and there, it now pleased God to remove from a great portion of nominal Christendom the thick veil of ignorance and "to destroy the face of the covering,"* which had concealed from men the knowledge of his holy Word.

In the year 1517 the celebrated reformer, Dr. Martin Luther, commenced the great and divine work, which, by the blessing of God, once more restored to the world the free use of the Sacred Scriptures, and liberated a large portion of mankind from the thraldom of superstition and error. With an intrepidity, equalled by none, he publicly exposed the absurdities and spiritual tyranny of the church of Rome; and with indefatigable diligence applied himself to the translation of the

* Isaiah xxv. 7.

Bible into the German language. His success was astonishing. The study of the Scriptures opened the eyes of men, and so great was the eagerness of all classes to read those lively oracles, that the first impression was sold, sheet by sheet, as soon as it left the press. It is said, that in one day no less than ten thousand sheets were printed and circulated all over Germany. Persons of all ranks, princes and their subjects, learned men and mechanics, rich and poor, espoused his cause, so that in a few years he had many able and powerful coadjutors in different parts of Europe. Extensive provinces, and whole kingdoms, shook off the papal yoke, and declared themselves the friends of Protestantism.

It was not long before the news of the exertions of Luther, and the success which attended his labours reached the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, and was hailed by them with joy and thanksgiving, as the earnest of better and brighter days to the Church. A century had elapsed since the death of Huss; but one of his last sayings was not forgotton, when addressing his judges in these words: "*A hundred years hence you shall answer this to God and me.*" This saying now seemed likely to be verified, and the prayers and hopes of the Brethren, for a general reformation in religion, to be realized. They therefore, in 1522, deputed John Hern, and Michael Weiss, to visit the German Reformer, to present him with the sincere gratulations of their whole body, to express the cordial interest they took in his labours, and the lively joy they felt at the success with which it had pleased God to crown his exertions; and to give him a faithful account of their doctrine and constitution.

Luther received the deputies with great cordiality, acknowledged their love for the truth, and declared, that his former prejudices against the Brethren, had now been removed, and that he felt himself greatly refreshed and encouraged by their friendly visit, and the interest they took in his exertions. They renewed their intercourse with him the following year, and, by letter, represented to him the necessity of combining scriptural discipline and Christian practice with sound doctrine. To this he replied—"With us things are not yet sufficiently ripe for introducing such holy exercises both in doctrine and practice, as

we hear is the case with you. Our cause is still in a state of immaturity, and proceeds slowly; but do you pray for us."

This answer encouraged the Brethren to hope, that Luther and his coadjutors would not lose sight of this part of their work, which they deemed essential to a complete reformation of the Church. The close union which subsisted among them, and the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, being surrounded by inveterate enemies, had doubtless no small influence in producing in their minds a degree of solicitude for church-discipline, which by some, may be deemed overstrained. To them, however, it had hitherto proved of essential benefit; and they now began to feel the injurious effects of laxity in this respect. By the labours of the Reformers, many facilities were afforded for hearing the gospel preached in purity. This induced such members of their Church as were pleased with sound doctrine, but felt its discipline too strict and burdensome, to leave their community. The consequent diminution of their Church, however, was not the only, nor the chief cause of regret on their part. They feared that it would gradually injure the spiritual interests of their congregations, and introduce lukewarmness amongst the members, who would satisfy themselves with the form of sound words, and the appearance of godliness without experiencing its power.

The Brethren, therefore, sent a second deputation to the German Reformer, urging the necessity of strict discipline, and complaining of the tardy manner in which this subject was pursued. The censure this implied, offended Luther, whose labours as a preacher and translator required all his time and energies; and he publicly reprehended some parts of the Brethren's discipline, and this for a *while* interrupted their mutual cordiality. To prevent a complete rupture, and effect reconciliation and mutual good-will, the Brethren, in 1532, transmitted to him their Confession of faith. Luther was so well pleased with this document, that he caused it to be printed at Wittenberg, with a recommendatory preface from his own pen, in which he declares, that his suspicion against the Brethren had totally vanished, and that he respected and loved them, for the purity of their faith and practice. A few extracts from this preface, may with propriety be here inserted.

"While I was a papist," says the great reformer, "my zeal for religion made me cordially hate the Brethren, and consequently likewise the writings of Huss. I could not, however, deny, that he taught the doctrines of holy writ purely and forcibly, so much so, that I was astonished that the Pope and Council of Constance had condemned this great and worthy man to the flames. Yet such was my blind zeal for the Pope and the Council, that I instantly put the book out of my hand, and felt terrified at myself. But since God hath discovered to me the son of perdition, I think otherwise, and am constrained to honor those as saints and martyrs, whom the Pope condemned and murdered as heretics, for they have died for the truth of their testimony. To these I reckon the Brethren, commonly called Picards: for among them I have found what I deem a great wonder, and what is not to be met with in the whole extent of Popedom, namely, that setting aside all human traditions, they exercise themselves day and night in the law of the Lord; and though they are not as great proficients in Hebrew and Greek, as some others, yet they are well skilled in the holy Scriptures, have made experience of its doctrines, and teach them with clearness and accuracy. I therefore hope all true Christians will love and esteem them.—Yea, we are bound to give hearty thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to the riches of his glory, hath commanded the light of his Word to shine out of darkness, that he might destroy death in us, and quicken the life of grace. We sincerely rejoice, both for their sakes and ours, that the suspicion which heretofore alienated us, and made us reciprocally treat each other as heretics, has been removed, and that we are now gathered into one fold, under the only shepherd and bishop of our souls, to whom be glory to all eternity, Amen."

On those points of ecclesiastical discipline and rule, in which the Brethren differed from him, Luther thus states his opinion: "Although there exists according to this their Confession, some difference between them and us, respecting certain rites and ceremonies, we ought to remember, that at no period, have the customs, order, and discipline, been exactly the same in all

churches; nor can this be the case, because local circumstances, the difference of nations, and the constant changes which take place in human affairs, would render such uniformity impracticable. It is enough that our faith be scriptural, and our practice sound; herein we must be uniform and of the same mind as St. Paul teaches: 'that ye all speak the same things, and be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment,* that with one mind and one mouth we may glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.'† I therefore recommend to all pious Christians, this Confession of the Brethren, which will clearly shew them, with what foul injustice they have been traduced and even condemned by the Papists."

Similar testimonies in their favor may be found in the works of several of Luther's principal assistants. Of these we shall only quote the following by the celebrated Philip Melancthon, who in a letter to the Brethren, written in 1535, expresses himself thus:

"Seeing, that we are of *one* mind respecting the essential articles of the Christian faith, let us receive each other in love. No difference or alteration in customs and ceremonies shall alienate or disunite us. The holy Apostle Paul speaks frequently of differences in ceremonies, and strongly forbids Christians to separate from each other on that account, though it is a source of violent contentions in the world. The self-denying exercises and strict discipline, which prevail in your church, do truly not displease me. Would to God, that they were more seriously attended to in our churches. Take this, then, as my opinion concerning you: I wish from my very heart, that all, who love the Gospel, and desire that the name of Christ may be glorified and widely extended, may imbibe, and exercise towards each other true Christian charity and meekness, and chiefly aim at promoting the glory of Christ by their doctrine, that they may not ruin themselves by personal malice and baneful discord, especially with regard to those things, which, not being essential, ought never to create dissension."

These negociations between the Brethren and the Reformers

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* 1 Cor. i. 10. † Rom. xv. 6.

exhibit a beautiful example of mutual candour and a readiness in either party, to acknowledge the real excellencies of the other, without anathematizing them on account of differences in opinion and practice, which professedly do not involve the essential truths and principles of Christianity. It would have been well for the church and for the world, if all the friends of true religion had, at all times, cultivated the same spirit of meekness, charity, and forbearance, not judging another man's servant, being more attentive to the real wants of the world, which require reiterated and faithful scriptural instruction, concerning man's guilt and his need of a Saviour; and if they had sought for, and endeavoured to promote the good of the church, rather in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace among its members, than in a uniformity of rites, and an inflexible adherence to merely human opinions in matters of very subordinate importance. This would have exhibited the disciples of Christ in the beautiful character, which their divine master implored for them when he prayed, *that they all may be one;* and it would have accelerated the evangelization of the whole world.

The good understanding thus established between the German Reformers and Moravian Brethren remained uninterrupted, each honoring the respective merits of the other. Luther, though decidedly their superior, in those qualifications which are essential to a *national* reformer, was yet willing to receive brotherly advice from them, whenever he discovered the justness of their remonstrance. This related particularly to the introduction of a stricter discipline in the Protestant church, a subject, which, as already remarked, was a favorite topic with the Brethren. They sent five successive deputations to the Reformers, for the purpose of conferring with them on this subject. In one of their last conferences, Luther, in presence of all the assembled divines, declared himself to the following effect: "The errors of Popery could not have been extirpated in any other way, than by overturning its whole system of superstition, and removing even the very appearance of coercing men's consciences. But, as the world was now transgressing by falling into the opposite error, it became necessary to stem

the overwhelming torrent, and restore Scriptural discipline in the church." He added: "We will take the subject into *our* most serious consideration, as soon as we shall be able; for at present the Pope is exciting fresh commotion, in the hope of convening a new Council."

At the close of the conference, Luther, in presence of the other divines and professors, gave the deputies the right hand of fellowship, with these words: "Labor diligently in the work of Christ, as you have opportunity; we will do the same as far as lies in our power." Soon after he addressed a letter to their principal senior, or bishop, John Augusta, in which he says: "Furthermore I admonish you in the Lord, that as you have begun so you will maintain to the end the unity of the spirit with us and abide in the same doctrine; and together with us, by the Word of God and prayer, fight against the gates of hell."

The death of Luther which followed in the year 1546, the subsequent disputes among the leaders of the Reformation, and the political convulsions of the German Empire, prevented the execution of the projected scheme for the introduction of a purer discipline in the Lutheran church. In this particular many of her most learned and ablest advocates acknowledged the superiority of the Brethren. The father of the Reformation himself declares his esteem for their ecclesiastical discipline in these words: "Since the days of the Apostles, there has existed no church, which in her doctrine and rites has more nearly approximated to the spirit of that age, than the Bohemian Brethren. Although they do not exceed us in purity of doctrine, for all the articles of faith are taught by us plainly and clearly, according to the Word of God; yet they far excel us in the observance of regular discipline, whereby they blessedly rule their congregations, and in this respect they are more deserving of praise than we. This we must concede to them for the honor of God and the sake of truth; for our German people will not bend under the yoke of discipline."

During their conferences with Luther and his associates the fame of the Brethren reached Strasburg, where the learned divines, Fabricius Capito and Martin Bucer were employing their time and talents in advancing the cause of the Reformation.

They wrote to the Brethren requesting a faithful account of their history, doctrine and constitution. To satisfy their enquiries, the Brethren deputed Matthias Erythreus, whose account of their church affected Bucer so much, that in presence of the other Strasburg divines, he testified his unfeigned pleasure with evident emotion. Sometime after he addressed a very affectionate letter to the Brethren, in which among other things, he writes: "It is the inmost wish of my heart, that you may never lose the precious gift you have received from God, but may rather, by your example, excite us to attain to the same. For you are at present the only people in Christendom, to whom God hath given, not only sound doctrine, but also a pure, scriptural church-discipline, convenient and salutary, not painful but profitable. We pray the Lord to confirm this character of his kingdom, and extend it from day to day."

In similar terms did Fabricius Capito express his good-will towards them. "Your book," says he, "containing your confession of faith, and a sketch of your ecclesiastical constitution, has afforded us great delight. I have not seen any thing more complete in the present day. It not only exhibits a comprehensive creed and directions for the profitable use of the sacraments, founded on the words of Christ, and their plain unsophisticated meaning; but likewise presents to view a holy discipline, and the duties of the pastoral office, in active and laborious exercise."

John Calvin, at that time minister of a congregation of French refugees in Strasburg, likewise cultivated a friendly intercourse with the Brethren, and embodied several of their regulations in the constitution, framed by him for the church in Geneva.

Thus, though no close external connection was formed between the Reformers and the Brethren, because the latter feared that this might by degrees rob their Church of its Scriptural discipline, yet both parties cultivated reciprocal friendship and brotherly love.

The Waldenses in France about this time sent a deputation to their old friends, the Brethren, giving them an account of their oppression from without, and their internal dissensions,

soliciting their aid and counsel, and proposing a union of the two churches. After a full examination of their doctrine, the Brethren freely granted their request, and admitted the deputies, during their six month's residence with them, to the celebration of the Lord's Supper in their church.

## SECTION II.

*Persecution of the Brethren in* BOHEMIA—*Emigrations into* POLAND *and* PRUSSIA—*Negociations with the Reformed in* POLAND—*Synod of* SENDOMIR.

AFTER enjoying repose for nearly thirty years, the Brethren were again called upon to prove the sincerity of their faith, by submitting to new sufferings for the cause of Christ.

In 1546, Charles V. Emperor of Germany, commenced the well known war against the Protestants, which raged, in many parts of the German Empire, for thirty years. The Bohemians refusing to assist their King, Ferdinand, who was one of the Emperor's allies, were declared rebels, and their refusal was chiefly ascribed to the Brethren, whose frequent intercourse with Luther, was alleged to have for its object, the elevation of the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Bohemia. Ferdinand, therefore, inflicted heavy penalties and punishments on the Brethren. Persons of rank and influence among them were expelled the country, and their property confiscated; others were thrown into prison.

Among those imprisoned was their oldest bishop, John Augusta. He was treated with ruthless cruelty. His daily allowance of bread and water was barely sufficient to support nature; and he was moreover frequently scourged, and three times put to the rack, in order to extort from him a confession of his brethren's supposed guilt. His Christian fortitude and his fervent prayers at length made his tormentors relent; some of whom, are said, to have been seriously impressed with the truths of religion by his exhortations and example. Notwithstanding this, and the impossibility of proving any of the

charges falsely brought against him and his friends, he lingered sixteen years in confinement, and was not liberated till after the death of King Ferdinand.

George Israel, his successor in the episcopacy, met with similar hard usage. A ransom of a thousand guilders was demanded for his freedom. Not being possessed of that sum, his friends and parishioners offered to pay it, but he refused to accept it, saying: "It is enough for me to know, that I have been once and fully ransomed with the blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ; it is unnecessary for me to be ransomed a second time with silver or gold; therefore keep your money, it will be of use to you in your approaching exile." He afterwards effected his escape. Relying on the protection of God, and having dressed himself like a clerk, with a pen behind his ear and some paper and an inkhorn in his hand, he ventured in broad day light, to quit his confinement in the castle of Prague. He passed the guards unobserved, and travelled into Prussia.

In many places the churches of the Brethren were now shut up, and their ministers either banished or made prisoners. Some fled into Moravia; others concealed themselves during the day, and at night went forth to minister aid and comfort to their Brethren. The common people were commanded, either to return to the Romish Church, or quit the country in six weeks. Many were discouraged, and joined themselves to the Calixtines, but a numerous body, conducted by their bishop, Matthias Syon, emigrated to Poland and were kindly received by some of the nobility. Their residence here, however, lasted only ten weeks, for the Roman Catholic bishop of Posen did not rest till he obtained a royal edict, by which they were banished the country.

From Poland they travelled into Prussia. Duke Albert, who had before offered them land in his dominions, received them with open arms: and as some persons endeavoured to render them suspected of maintaining false doctrines, he ordered five ministers to examine them. The result was, that the doctrines maintained by the Brethren were found, in every essential point, to agree with the Augsburg confession.* An edict

* It is well known that this confession agrees, in every essential doctrine, with the 39 Articles of the Church of England.

dated March 19th. 1549, was in consequence issued, conferring on the Brethren the same civil rights which were enjoyed by his other subjects, together with full liberty to retain their own ecclesiastical constitution, and settle in the towns of Marienswerder, Neidenburg, Gardensee, Hohenstein, Gilgenstein, Soldau and Konigsberg.

In their negociations with the Duke they received very kind and effectual assistance from Paul Speratus, bishop of Pomerania. He and many other zealous Protestant ministers expressed sincere joy at their settling among them. The clergyman in Marienswerder, John Bodenstein, wrote concerning them to Dr. Brentius—"If congregations any where exist, in which truly apostolic zeal and discipline are to be found, and where every thing is regulated according to the pattern of the primitive holy martyrs, they certainly are the congregations of the Brethren. I believe God himself hath sent this holy people to us, that others may be excited seriously and maturely to consider how to correct the many irregularities and failings in our church."

Some of the Lutheran divines, however, were displeased with the liberty granted to the Brethren; and by false accusations endeavoured to render them suspected, to oblige them to dismiss their own ministers, to give up their ecclesiastical discipline, and in every respect to conform to the Lutheran ritual. This occasioned many violent controversies. One of their bitterest enemies was Paul Kirmezes, Reformed* minister at Hunnobrod in Moravia, who had been deposed on account of sundry irregularities; but at length repented, and was again received by the Brethren as a reconciled enemy, with Christian charity, and maintained till his death. But when, on the demise of Duke Albert, the Brethren were again required either to relinquish their own church constitution, or quit Prussia; the majority preferring the latter, many of them retired into Poland, the rest returned to Moravia.

Short as had been their abode in Poland, it did not remain without fruit; and the seed of the divine Word, scattered by

* The Reformed, or the Reformed church, is the name generally given to Calvinists on the Continent, who adopt the Helvetic Confession, while the Lutherans adhere to that of Augsburg.

them here and there, began to take root and spring up. Many of the nobility as well as citizens joyfully embraced the gospel. Their bishop, Syon, having retired into Prussia, paid several visits to his Polish friends, and confirmed them in the evangelical doctrines. During one of these visits the power of divine truth was strikingly displayed in the conversion of Count Ostrorog. This nobleman went one day to the church of the Brethren, in order forcibly to bring away his lady. For this purpose he had armed himself with a whip; but he had hardly entered the place, when he was so powerfully convinced by what he heard and saw, that he not only desisted from his wicked purpose, but requested that one of their ministers might be sent to reside on his estate, for the purpose of instructing himself and his tenants. His request was complied with; and George Israel, of whom mention has been made above, went thither in 1551.

By the zealous exertions of this venerable man, assisted by John Cocytanus, another minister of the Brethren's church, forty congregations were, in the short space of six years,* collected in Great Poland. In other countries likewise the cause of the Brethren spread rapidly. They had many congregations in Lithuania, Polish Prussia, Cassubia, and Silesia, and were not unfrequently requested to provide court-chaplains and inspectors of schools. Among their members were many persons of the first respectability for rank and learning, and several Polish grandees.

About this time the doctrines of the Reformation were propagated also in Little Poland by some Swiss divines, with considerable success. Several congregations were formed, and their ecclesiastical discipline framed on the model of the church in Geneva. Their ministers cultivated cordial friendship with the Brethren, and desired to form a close alliance with their Church. In order to effect this, a Synod was convened at Cosminiec in 1555, attended by ministers and delegates from both churches, and by several Polish Woywods, besides a deputation sent by

* This is attested by the Pope's legate Vergerius, who had been sent to hold a visitation in this country.

the duke of Prussia. In this assembly the confession of faith and the ecclesiastical constitution of the Brethren, after undergoing a minute examination, were approved, and a closer union formed between the two churches. This act was ratified by all the members of the Synod giving each other the right hand of fellowship, and celebrating together the memorial of Christ's death in the holy communion.

By a public instrument prepared in 1556, the divines of the Reformed church in Switzerland, sanctioned this union. Calvin wrote concerning it to Poland: "From your agreement with the Waldenses, (so he calls the Brethren) I hope much good will accrue; not only because God does always bless the communion of his saints, the members of the body of Christ, but also, because I believe, that the experience of the Waldenses, who have been long tried in the Lord's service, will be very profitable to you in your beginning of the Christian warfare. Therefore it should be your diligent study to promote and perfect this pious union." Wolfgang Musculus, a clergyman in Bern, expressed his approbation of this measure in similar terms. "We more especially venerate the wonderful counsel of God," says he, "in causing the Bohemian Brethren, who are here called Waldenses, to come to you, that they might be of use to your congregations in receiving and propagating the knowledge of divine truth."

The most decided testimony in favor of the Brethren and the union of the Reformed church in Poland with them, is derived from Paul Vergerius. He had formerly been the pope's legate and bishop of Cape d'Istria; but had afterwards gone over to the Reformed church and become a bold and zealous witness of evangelical truth. In 1556 he caused a new edition of the Brethren's confession of faith to be printed at Tuebingen, the duke of Wurtemberg having appointed him chancellor of the university. From his preface to this work, the following extract though rather long, seems to merit insertion:

"It more particularly behoves me," says he, "to mention the reasons, which have induced me to re-publish this confession of faith. When God called me from Germany into Prussia, Poland, and Lithuania, I burned with desire to see many

and different nations and churches. For this purpose I travelled through the whole extent of Poland, and visited about forty congregations of the Brethren.* These afforded me, in truth, great delight; for they have the true word of the gospel, and maintain it in such purity, that I do not discover the least error, either in their doctrine, or in their teachers, nor any thing to excite the least suspicion. Their customs and ceremonies are all so pure, so distant from popish superstition and puerilities, that not a vestige or trace thereof remains among them. Their discipline is so strict, that when faithfully administered, it produces those fruits of renovation and amendment of life, which prove them to be sincere, and free from hypocrisy, evincing real conversion of heart." Having mentioned, that several persons, both princes, nobles and others, to whom he gave an account of his journey, were either totally ignorant of the Brethren, or apprehensive that their union with the Polish Reformed church might tarnish the pure doctrines of the latter, he thus proceeds: "I doubt not, but the re-publication of this Confession will be acceptable to all who value divine truth; and moreover that they will honor and commend the Poles, and all the congregations, which have received this confession, and supplicate our gracious Father in heaven, that he would preserve to these congregations the reformation so happily begun, increase them according to his immeasurable goodness, and daily bless them more and more. Though I am by no means ignorant who I am, yet I admonish all congregations, who within these forty years have been reformed, and regenerated in Christ, not to be satisfied with having eradicated the superstition and abominations of popery; but to use all diligence that they may maintain the unalterable, the true and pure doctrine of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, and introduce a discipline consistent with his holy doctrine, and calculated to mortify the flesh."

A few years after he wrote to the Brethren, soliciting admission to their Church. In his letter, which is dated March 19th, 1561, he assigns his reasons for desiring this connection. He

* This journey he undertook as the Pope's legate. see p. 103. Note.

writes: "as the Spirit of God, ten years ago, led me to come out from the Antichristian church, so the same Spirit does now lead me to seek a church, which, in my judgment, shall appear the best, and in which I may live and die, and commit my soul to my heavenly Father. And this I am compelled to do, not merely for my own sake, but as an example to others, notwithstanding my own unworthiness. When I escaped from popery, I gave an example, that I from the heart abominate its doctrines. It is my wish to give a testimony, no less unequivocal, that, though I am not displeased with the doctrines of the church to which I now belong, I prefer those congregations, who have a better discipline. I praise our churches; but I desire the other part of the gospel, evangelical discipline. I therefore bear this public testimony, that I prefer *your* church to every other. And that no one may suppose, that this is quite a new opinion, hastily taken up, I testify before God, that ever since I have known and tasted the pure gospel, *your* church has always pleased me, and I have defended it with all my powers, as many can bear witness. One proof of this I gave by exerting my influence for lessening the hostility of Maximilian II. king of Bohemia, against the Brethren. In brief, if your church will receive me, I will live and die in her communion. And as I have freely and before now renounced the pleasures of the world, I will not seek them with *you;* for the hand of the Lord hath apprehended me, so that now I seek and think of very different things."

His death, which happened soon after, prevented his admission to the Brethren's Church. In the oration pronounced at his funeral, the following testimony was borne to his piety: "that though a mere novice in religious controversy, he had been a perfect man in the life of God, which is in Christ Jesus."

The negociations, betwixt the Brethren and the Reformed in Poland, were still continued. John Rokita, who had been deputed by the Brethren in Bohemia to visit Poland, and assist in perfecting the projected union of the two churches, found the Reformed greatly agitated by internal divisions. Some of their divines were accused of favouring the Arian heresy; and others disapproved the ecclesiastical government of the Brethren. A Synod was therefore convened at Xians in 1568,

attended by deputies from both churches. The subject first discussed was the *doctrine;* which did not long occupy the Synod, and ended in the adoption of the evangelical system. The subject of *church government* and discipline was far more warmly debated, both parties insisting on their own opinions with no small pertinacity.

It was objected to the ecclesiastical constitution of the Brethren, that it was too much assimilated to popery, giving undue power to the clergy: and that a constitution might be framed more consonant to Scripture. The Brethren vindicated their system, by observing; That it had not been hastily adopted, having been a subject of deliberation at different synods for the space of forty years, before it had been finally received by their congregations. Besides it had not only stood the test of years, but been found beneficial during several heavy persecutions; and had moreover obtained the suffrages of the wisest and most pious leaders of the Reformation; principally because it aimed at true conversion, and admitted none to church fellowship, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper, without previous and strict examination. To the charge of investing their ministers with too great authority, they replied; that it was unfounded, because their government was purely scriptural, and allowed of no compulsion in matters of conscience. Their clergy possessed no temporal power or worldly honour, and were as much subject to the civil law of the state, as any of its inhabitants. And, though they had always abhorred and denied the temporal power of the pope, they had ever acknowledged and honoured the legitimate authority of the civil government, and had given repeated irrefragable proofs of their obedience to the laws, in every thing not militating against the Word of God and a good conscience.

At length, the Synod, by plurality of votes, resolved to adopt the Constitution of the Brethren, with this single modification, that the Bishop should be joined by a Senior-civilis, or Lay-Elder,* in the superintendence of every district or dio-

* The term lay-elder seems perferable to *senior civilis*, being more easily understood, and, at once conveying a clear idea of the nature of the office.

cese, the number of which amounted in Little Poland to seven, and in Lithuania to six. The duties of the lay-elder were these: he was to accompany the bishop or Ecclesiastical Senior* in his visitations, to superintend the temporal concerns of the congregations, and at the provincial Synods, which were held annually, to hear complaints and adjust differences.

This union of the congregations belonging to the Reformed, and the Brethren's Church in little Poland, displeased the Lutheran congregations in great Poland. The superintendent of the latter, therefore, Erasmus Gliezner, invited George Israel, the senior of the Brethren's church, to attend a Synod assembled at Posen, in 1567. At this meeting the Lutheran superintendent insisted that theBrethren should set aside their own confession of faith, and in every point adopt the Augsburg confession. As they could not come to an amicable agreement, the question was referred to the theological faculty in Wittemberg, who decided in favor of the Brethren. At two subsequent Synods, the subject was again discussed by the Brethren and the Lutherans. These discussions paved the way for the celebrated Synod at Sendomir.

This assembly met in the month of April 1570, and was very numerously attended. Besides deputies from the Reformed Lutheran and Brethren's churches in Poland, there were present many of the Polish nobility, who elected Sborowsky, Woywod of Sendomir, president. The principal persons on behalf of the three Protestant communities were Johannes Laurentius, Senior of the Brethren's Church, Erasmus Gliezner, Superintendent of the Lutherans, and Paul Gilovius, Senior of the Reformed congregations.

After many fruitless attempts to agree to a new confession of faith, to be received by all the Protestants in Poland, the Synod at length came to an unanimous resolution, that each party should retain its own confession of faith and ecclesiastical discipline, without thereby dissolving the general bond of brotherly

* From this time the Brethren's Bishops in Poland *styled* themselves *Seniors* to avoid giving offence either to the Reformed (Calvinists) or the Roman Catholics. They however retained the title of Bishop in their correspondence with episcopal churches among Protestants.

love and Christian union between their respective churches, as there existed no difference of opinion among them on any fundamental doctrine of religion. This was followed by another resolution, in which it was declared, that they would acknowledge the orthodoxy of the respective confessions, terminate their former dissensions, and avoid all controversies; on the contrary, they would cultivate brotherly love, mutually assist each other in the performance of divine service, conforming to the customary ritual of the church in which they were called to officiate, and send deputies to the general Synods of each distinct community.

The different subjects, embraced in these resolutions, were afterwards embodied in a public document which was called *Consensus Sendomiriensis*, (i. e. the Agreement of Sendomir.) This document was unanimously received and subscribed by all the members of the Synod, who gave each other the right hand as a pledge, that they would faithfully and sacredly observe the articles of agreement, maintain brotherly love and peace, avoid every occasion for discord, and mutually promote the extension of Christ's kingdom. The conclusion was made with prayer and singing the Te Deum.

When this agreement was made known to the people, such was the feeling of solemn joy, that many burst into loud weeping, and praised God for it. A Lutheran Minister preached in a church belonging to the Brethren, conforming to their ritual, and one of their ministers did the same in a Lutheran church.

A copy of the agreement was afterwards sent to the university of Heidelberg, requesting their opinion, whether it were expedient to compile for the Protestants in Poland, a general confession of faith, or system of divinity. The reply sent by the university was to this effect, that the Consensus Sendomiriensis was quite sufficient. Copies of it were now also forwarded to the electors of Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and Saxony, who highly approved it, expressing a wish, that the rest of the Protestants would imitate the example of their brethren in Poland.

At subsequent Synods this agreement was confirmed, some

clauses, or canons, being added for the purpose of preserving peace, maintaining discipline and concerting measures for establishing schools, which should be open to children of all the three confessions. These Synods were punctually attended, not only by all the clergy, but also by the lay-elders of the three churches, and the deliberations were for some time conducted with candour, and in the spirit of love. But this unanimity was interrupted at the Synod held at Posen in 1582, in consequence of the turbulence of some of its members, who were dissatisfied with the Sendomirian Agreement. John Enoch, a minister of the Brethren's Church, and Paul Gerike, Lutheran minister at Posen, became the leaders of the opposing parties.

In the hope of allaying the ferment, which agitated all parties, another general Synod, was, in 1595, convened at Thorn. This assembly was more numerously attended than any preceding one by ministers and delegates from the three Protestant denominations. Besides them there were present eleven deputies from the most illustrious Polish and Lithuanian princes, and the reigning family of the house of Reuss, who adhered to the Greek church. The results of this Synod, however, did not correspond with the hopes of the friends of union. The Lutheran party would listen to no accommodation; and by degrees broke off all connection with the other two churches. The union between the Reformed, and the Brethren, on the contrary, was more firmly cemented, so that in a few years these two denominations formed but one church in Poland.

At this distance of time it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion how far the transactions in Poland, were beneficial, or injurious, to the Church of the Brethren It is certainly the undeniable duty of all, who call themselves the disciples of Jesus, to cultivate to the utmost of their power, the spirit of love, and avoid every thing, which would needlessly break the bond of union. But union may be too dearly bought. And that this was the case here, seems to have been the opinion of Amos Comenius* who after relating the transactions of the

* He was the last bishop of the ancient Brethren's church.

Synod of Xians, in 1560, expresses his disapprobation in rather strong terms. According to his judgment carnal and political wisdom bore the sway. The union did probably not materially benefit either party. The injury sustained arose, not from a discordance in doctrine, for in this there existed no essential difference; but in blending the two constitutions in such a manner, that while the one church gained little, the other was eventually a loser.

Calvin and his coadjutors, like the German Reformers, aimed at the introduction of an ecclesiastical constitution, adapted to a whole kingdom or state; while the Brethren, in framing their church government and discipline, acted on principles, which in their judgment, accorded with Scripture, without wishing to enrol among the members of their brotherly union whole provinces and nations. The discipline which suited, and was even necessary, to the well-being of their community, was ill adapted to a national religious establishment. The consequences, therefore, were exactly what might have been foreseen; for a discipline, which aims not only at external order and decorum in religion, but at the renovation of the heart, can never be beneficially applied to a community, of which the majority are merely nominal Christians. By such it will ever be felt as a burden, and speedily degenerate into useless form. Such was the case in Poland; and as human institutions are ever liable to degenerate, the Brethren's Church, though it gained in numbers and respectability by its union with the Reformed, lost in internal purity and devotedness to God.

# CHAP. III.

TRANSACTIONS IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA, EXTINCTION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THESE KINGDOMS. FROM THE YEAR 1564 TO 1624.

## SECTION I.

*The Brethren's Church enjoys rest—They undertake and finish a new translation of the Bible—Agree with the other Protestants in a Confession of faith—Establish Academies and Colleges—Are admitted to the privileges of the Protestant Consistory—Increase in number but decline in piety—New persecutions—They and all other Protestants are totally deprived of religious liberty.—*

THE latter part of the preceding chapter being chiefly occupied in describing the circumstances of the Brethren's Church in Poland, we now resume the history of the Moravian branch, which leads us a few years back.

Soon after the accession of Maximilian II. to the imperial throne of Germany, the edicts against the Brethren, issued by his predecessor, were rescinded, and in 1564 their churches were restored to them, and re-opened for public worship, having been closed for nearly twenty years. The immediate effect of this was, that many members of their Church, who, during the persecution, had expatriated themselves, returned to their native country, to participate with their brethren, who had lived in privacy and concealment, in the enjoyment of religious liberty.

But they had scarcely begun to taste the sweets of it, when their enemies concerted fresh measures for depriving them of it. They prevailed on the imperial chancellor of Bohemia, Joachim von Neuhaus to espouse their cause. For this purpose he went, in 1565, to Vienna; and by his incessant importunity induced the Emperor, to sign a new edict against the Brethren. Its execution however was providentially frustrated. For as the chancellor was leaving Vienna, and passing the bridge over the Danube, it broke under him, precipitating his carriage into the river, in which he and most of his retinue found a watery grave. A young nobleman, swimming across on horseback, on observing the chancellor rise seized hold of his gold chain, and kept him above water, till some fishermen hastened to the spot, and took the lifeless body into their boat. But the box, which contained the death-warrant of many thousand innocent persons, was carried away by the stream, and never found. The Emperor, who had issued the edict with great reluctance, was by no means disposed to renew it, but on the contrary formed a very favorable opinion of the Brethren's Church. And the impression made on the mind of the young nobleman, was such, that he became a member of their community, and, in far advanced age, spoke of this occurrence with admiration and gratitude.

This season of repose was employed by the Brethren for the advancement of vital religion. Under the presidency of their pious bishops, Johannes Augusta and Matthias Erythreus, they held frequent Synods.

One of these assemblies was attended, besides the clergy, by not fewer than seventeen Bohemian grandees, and one hundred and forty six noblemen. This circumstance shows, how widely the doctrine of protestantism had spread in a country, by no means large in extent, and whose government in church and state was popish, and how ineffectual the most cruel persecutions are to eradicate the seed of the gospel, when it has once taken firm root.

The deliberations at this Synod principally respected two subjects, each of which was of considerable importance, though inferior in degree. In the first instance their time and attention were occupied in reviewing their ecclesiastical constitution, and

in making such regulations, as by the divine blessing appeared calculated to remove various irregularities, which had crept into their Church during the late persecution, to preserve purity of doctrine, and promote the spiritual edification of its members.

The other and more important subject of deliberation respected a new translation of the Bible into the Bohemian language, from the originals, the version hitherto in use having been chiefly made from the Latin Vulgate. To render this work as perfect as possible, they sent some students of divinity to the universities of Wittenberg and Basle to acquire a more extensive knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. They were accompanied by Lucas Helitz, a baptized Jew from Posen, and minister of the gospel, who was esteemed a very learned and pious man. Having completed their studies, they assembled at the castle of Kraliz in Moravia, and commenced their labours, being joined by several of the Brethren's ministers; three bishops, Johannes Aeneas, Johannes Ephraim, and Paul Jessenius, superintended the work. In order to facilitate the business baron Scherotin established, at his own expense, a printing office at his castle of Kraliz. The translators spent fourteen years in completing their work. The high value of this translation is sufficiently evident from the many editions through which it passed.

The diet, assembled in Prague in 1575, issued an edict, allowing all the Protestants in Bohemia and Moravia, to form a general union amongst themselves, by the adoption of a confession of faith, to which all parties should agree. Each of the three Protestant communities, viz the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Brethren, sent delegates, both from the clergy and laity, to the place of meeting. These delegates, entered upon their important function in a truly Christian spirit, and, dismissing all subtleties and controversial refinements, framed a Confession of faith embracing only those essential doctrines, in which all parties were agreed. This document was compiled in the Bohemian language. Being signed by all the delegates, it was presented to the emperor Maximilian, who received it very graciously, promising his protection to all who adhered to it.

A German translation of this Confession was soon after sent

to the theological faculty in the university at Wittenberg. In their answer they express their approbation in the following terms: "Although this Confession is very concise, and it is easily perceived that in compiling the same, great care has been taken to avoid all needless prolixity and every point of doubtful interpretation, tending to strife and controversy, and to express the fundamental articles of faith with brevity, precision and plainness; and though this will probably displease some captious spirits in Germany: yet we on our part commend this your Christian prudence and moderation. We therefore publicly admonish you, notwithstanding others may judge differently, not to be diverted by any thing from your pure and holy faith. For it is certain, that the edification, amendment and unity of the churches are best promoted, when the pure doctrines of the gospel are preached to the people in simplicity, without engaging in subtle controversies, which only engender strife."

For a considerable time past the Brethren had felt the want of regular institutions for the education of the youth of their own Church. For though there was in every congregation a school for the instruction of the children; yet these schools were merely elementary, and those youths, who by their rank, or choice, were destined for the learned professions, were obliged to frequent foreign universities in order to complete their studies. This, however, was attended with serious disadvantages. It was found, that some of the young men, together with much useful knowledge, had imbibed opinions in Germany, which, if propagated, would lessen the purity of doctrine in the Brethren's Church, and deteriorate the morals of its members. To obviate this evil, the Brethren resolved, at a Synod held in 1584, to establish academies and colleges of their own, where the youths of the nobility and other young men might receive a liberal and learned education, and such, as were destined for it, be prepared for the sacred ministry.

But as they could not engage in an undertaking of this kind without permission from government, they made common cause with the other Protestants; and jointly drew up a memorial, petitioning leave to establish Seminaries of learning and a Con-

sistory for the direction of their ecclesiastical affairs. On presenting it to the Emperor, he refused their petition, promising, however, that attention should be paid to it at a more convenient season.

Till the death of Maximilian II. the Brethren enjoyed rest and peace. His successor Rudolph II. who ascended the imperial throne in 1576, likewise shewed himself well-disposed towards them. Their adversaries however, and especially the Jesuits, used every means to incense the Emperor against them; and at length, in 1602, they so far succeeded, by foul misrepresentations and calumnies, that he consented to the revival of an old edict, by which their churches were shut up. It is related that the Emperor, on receiving immediately after the news, that the town of Stuhlweissenburg had been taken by the Turks, made the following declaration: "I have been expecting intelligence like this, because I have arrogated to myself power over the consciences of men, which is the sole prerogative of God." With this impression on his mind, he was easily persuaded by the representations of the friends and patrons of the Brethren, to annul the edict, to which he had very reluctantly consented.

In 1609, the Emperor, by Imperial Letters Patent, granted and secured to all the Protestants in Bohemia and Moravia, the free exercise of their religion. The Jesuits used every exertion to exclude the Brethren from this privilege, but the States opposed their hostile designs, declaring that nothing should induce them to infringe the religious liberty of the Brethren. "Such a proceeding," said they, "would be the height of injustice in the sight of God and man. For, as the Brethren, in common with other Protestants, have dug, worked and planted in the vineyard of God, and faithfully borne their share of the toil, it would be daring impiety now to thrust them out, when they are going to reap some fruit from their labour."

Foiled in this attempt, their adversaries insisted on their exclusion from the Protestant Consistory, which, by virtue of Imperial Letters Patent, was to be established. But this attempt also failed. The right of the Brethren was fully recognized; three members of their Church were elected assessors of the

Consistory, and it was ordained, that one of their bishops should be the next colleague of the administrator, or president of it.

Preliminaries being thus far settled, the Imperial Letters Patent were publicly read in the church, during the ringing of bells and the acclamations of the people. The president of the Consistory performed the service, and delivered so impressive a discourse, that nearly his whole audience was melted in tears. The solemnity was concluded with singing the Te Deum. The Bethlehem's church in Prague, where John Huss had commenced his public ministry, was made over to the Brethren; and as it was too small to accommodate their congregation, leave was given them to erect another, for the convenience of both Bohemians and Germans.

The increase in numbers and respectability, which the newly acquired religious liberty procured for the Brethren, by degrees had an injurious influence on the internal state of their Church. Out of complaisance to their friends in other denominations they admitted greater laxity in discipline, and several regulations, hitherto considered essential, were deemed of little importance. They lost much of the vitality of religion and of their former energetic piety, and some were even led into sinful deviations from the precepts of the Bible. This degeneracy was deeply lamented by the sincere members of the Church. Their last surviving bishop, Amos Comenius, breaks out into the following lamentation: "Alas! with the liberty of religion, as is mostly the case, the liberty of the flesh began to spring up and grow. This liberty, therefore, which was followed by carnal security, did not please all the pious, who apprehended evil consequences." These fears were not unfounded. The purity of doctrine and simplicity of morals, which had hitherto distinguished the Brethren, though not totally lost, were considerably diminished. It is no wonder, therefore, but should rather be viewed as a gracious correction of our heavenly Father, that in the subsequent persecution of the Protestants, and the complete loss of all their religious liberties, the Brethren had their full share, and in some respects suffered even more severely than others; nor can their sufferings, in every case, be said to have been purely for the gospel's sake.

Reckoning from the year 1564, in which their churches were again opened, to the year 1602, when the Emperor Rudolph issued his Letters Patent in their favour, thirty-eight years had elapsed. During this period, though more than once threatened by their enemies, they had yet enjoyed general repose in Bohemia and Moravia. Their congregations had considerably increased, and they had employed this season of rest, as mentioned above, for the extension of religious knowledge. This period was succeeded by ten years of increasing outward prosperity to them and all other Protestants in these countries; while under the imperial favor and protection, they had nothing to dread from their adversaries. Soon however the scene was fearfully changed.

After the death of the Emperor Rudolph II. which happened in 1612, the popish clergy adopted the most violent measures to enforce the resolutions of the Council of Trent, for suppressing Protestantism; and it was determined to begin this work, misnamed *Reformation*, in Bohemia and Moravia. By repeated acts of oppression the popish party tried to excite the Protestants to deeds of open violence. Having in vain appealed to the Imperial Letters Patent, they were at length driven to impatience, and, unmindful of the character becoming the followers of Jesus, flew to arms. They renounced allegiance to their new king, and chose Frederic, elector of the Palatinate, for their sovereign. This was the very thing their enemies desired, because it furnished them with a fair pretext for declaring war against the Bohemians as rebels.

It is indeed probable that the Brethren had the least share in these acts of open violence; yet they were involved in all the distress which ensued, and which terminated in the almost total destruction of the Protestants, who had been defeated by the imperial troops, in the battle fought in 1620, on the Weissenberg, a hill near Prague. Great numbers were made prisoners, and many took refuge in the adjacent states. Some of the latter were induced by the promise of pardon and complete oblivion of all that had passed, to return; but were soon dreadfully undeceived. They were cast into prison, and not a few died by the sword of the executioner. Among the latter were

twenty-seven of the most respectable patrons of the Protestants. Eighteen Protestant clergymen, resident in Prague, and all the ministers of the Brethren were expelled the country.

These atrocities the popish party endeavoured to palliate by representing them as the execution of the law against persons, accused of rebellion, for having taken part in the war. It, however, soon became manifest, that this was a mere pretence, and that the real object was nothing less than the entire extirpation of all, who did not adhere to the church of Rome, not only in Bohemia, but also in Moravia, though none of the Protestants in this country had joined in the war. The persecution was first levelled against the Anabaptists, who had above forty congregations in Moravia, consisting of many thousand souls. They were either forcibly expelled the country, or obliged, after the spoliation of their property, to emigrate. A similar fate afterwards befel the Brethren. Besides those who dwelt in other parts of the country, the Vice Markgrave of Moravia, baron Charles Scherotin, had twenty-four of their ministers residing on his own estates. This nobleman, who was one of their principal patrons, submitted an humble but energetic remonstrance to the imperial court, representing the injustice of extending the edict of banishment to him and his subjects, or tenantry, because they had taken no share in hostilities, nor broken their allegiance to the Emperor. But all his exertions were fruitless, and he was at length compelled to leave the country, together with those bishops and ministers of the Brethren's Church, to whom he had afforded an asylum and protection.

The congregations, thus deprived of their legitimate pastors, had men forced upon them for their spiritual guides, who were not only illiterate, but notoriously ignorant, and some of them profligate and vicious in their lives. As the object of the adversaries was not attained by this expedient, they resorted to more severe and oppressive measures. A special commission was nominated, called the *commission for reforming religion*, and invested with full powers to compel the Brethren, either by craft or force, to renounce their faith. In order more easily to gain their point, they persuaded the common people, that they

might retain their doctrinal principles, if they would only outwardly conform to the rites of the Romish church, and be subject to the Pope. This artifice, however, had but little effect. The nobility in particular, though previously harrassed by grievous sufferings, remained as firm as ever, and encouraged the common people not to give up all hope of regaining their religious liberty.

This conduct of the nobility was deemed an act of unpardonable contumacy, and an edict was passed in 1627, by virtue of which their estates were confiscated, and they themselves expelled the country. Many hundred families, both of the nobility and gentry, together with men of letters and respectable citizens, emigrated into Prussia, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, the Netherlands and other states. The common people and peasantry were narrowly watched, and every obstacle thrown in the way of their emigration; yet many found means to follow their teachers into exile. Those, who through infirmity of age or other circumstances, could not do this, patiently endured oppression, and as far as possible remained in concealment. All the protestant churches and schools, throughout Bohemia and Moravia, were now for ever closed. Diligent search was made for every copy of the Bible, and all protestant books, which were committed to the flames, frequently under the gallows; together with all the utensils used by them in the performance of divine worship. In this manner did the church of Rome by her tyranny over the consciences of men depopulate whole countries, and sacrifice to the rage of her hierarchy the lives and property of many thousand of the most upright and valuable members of the state.

## SECTION. II.

*Execution and edifying Death of several Patrons of the Protestant and Brethren's Churches.*

The encroachments made by the popish party on the religious liberties of the Protestants in Bohemia, at length drove the latter to the necessity of defending their rights by force of

arms. * Their enemies made this a pretext for punishing them as rebels against the State, but the true cause was hatred against Protestantism, and a determination entirely to extirpate it in Bohemia and Moravia. To effect this they first vented their rage against the teachers of religion, whom they imprisoned or expelled. Their next endeavour was to get rid of the noble patrons of the Protestants. And as these, by their exalted rank, their learning, and the high offices many of them held, possessed superior influence, their adversaries treated them with greater severity, and proceeded, in the most summary manner, to pass sentence of death upon them. This was done on the 19th. of June, 1621, and two days after they were brought to the scaffold. Besides twenty seven patrons, all persons of rank, whose upright conduct and real piety had gained them general esteem, a great number of persons in trade and others shared the same fate.

As soon as sentence of death had been passed, the prisoners were visited by many of the popish clergy, both secular and regular, who promised them the Emperor's free pardon of all past offences, on condition of their joining the Romish communion. The firmness of the prisoners, however, remained unshaken; and their discourses evinced so much acquaintance with Scripture, that the ignorant ecclesiastics, who had come to convert them, were easily silenced, and filled with astonishment, no less at the scriptural knowledge, than the constancy of these laymen.

Their enemies so far relented, that they allowed some Lutheran ministers to visit and assist them in their devotions. But they persisted to manifest the most inveterate hatred against the Brethren, by positively refusing their request to be attended by a minister of their own Church, though nearly one half of the prisoners belonged to that communion. The greater part now joined in the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the Lutheran ritual. A few of the Brethren absented themselves, lest they should give offence to the weaker members of their Church.

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* See p. 118.

On the day preceding the execution, the prisoners of rank, who had been confined in the Castle of Prague, were brought to the Town-hall, in front of which the scaffold had been erected. When the artizans and mechanics, who had been put in ward in the town-hall, were informed of the arrival of the nobility, they placed themselves at the windows and bade them welcome by singing spiritual hymns. This brought a vast concourse of people together, who by silent tears testified their pity for those, who were ready to be led like sheep to the slaughter.

The prisoners feeling little disposition for sleep, had passed most of the night in prayer, in singing hymns and in religious discourse. As soon as the day dawned, they put on clean linen and dressed themselves, as if they were preparing for some festivity. At 5 o'clock in the morning the signal for the execution was given by the firing of cannon. On hearing this, the prisoners embraced, and encouraged each other to fortitude, imploring strength from on high, to remain faithful unto death.

Each of those, who were first led to execution, took leave of his companions, in these words: "May God bless and keep you, dearly beloved friends. May his Spirit comfort and endow you with patience and courage, that you may be enabled to confirm by an honourable death, what you have before confessed with heart and mouth. I go before you; that I may be counted worthy to behold the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ: and you will soon follow." To this address the following answer was returned: "May the blessing of God attend you on your way, for the sake of the death of our Lord Jesus Christ. Go before us, dear brother, into our Father's house, we are certain that by the grace of Jesus, in whom we have believed, we shall see each other again this day, and partake of heavenly joys."

The first, who was led to the scaffold, was count Schlick, who during the reign of king Frederick, had been governor of Bohemia, and the principal patron of the Brethren's Church, a man of superior talents and unquestionable piety, deservedly esteemed and beloved by all good men, When his sentence had been read to him, intimating, that his body, after decapitation should be quartered, and impaled in a place where four

roads met, he said in Latin: "To remain unburied matters little."* The minister who attended him, he thus addressed: "I thank you, dear father, for your pious exhortation; but I can boldly aver, through the grace of God, that no fear of death disquiets me. I have before ventured to defend true religion; and now I am ready to seal my testimony of the truth of God's word with my death." On hearing the report of the cannon, he exclaimed: "This is the signal for our death; and I shall be the first to meet it. O Lord Jesus, have mercy upon us!" When he had ascended the scaffold, he turned his face to the rising sun, saying: "O Christ, thou Sun of righteousness, help me to pass through the darkness of death into thine everlasting light!" The dignified cheerfulness, with which he once or twice walked a few paces on the scaffold, and then, uttering a short prayer, kneeled down to receive the stroke of the executioner's sword, so affected the spectators, that they could not refrain from tears.

He was followed by Wenceslas von Budowa, likewise a member of the Brethren's Church; a man of considerable learning, whose writings had procured for him no small celebrity, and who under the Emperor Rudolph, had held several high offices, and likewise been one of the assessors of the protestant consistory at Prague. He was seventy four years of age. When informed of the danger, which threatened the friends of evangelical religion, he conveyed his family to a place of security, but himself returned to his mansion. Being asked by his secretary, why he had not consulted his personal safety, he replied: "My conscience would not let me abandon the good cause; it may be the Lord's will, that I shall seal it with my blood." Quickly rising from his seat, he added with a countenance beaming with joy: "Here am I, my God, do with me, thy servant, what thou pleasest." Hearing soon after that it was reported he had died with grief, he said with a smile: "How? I die of grief? Never have I tasted greater joy than in my present situation." Putting his hand on the Bible, he added: "This paradise has never offered me sweeter fruits,

* His own words were: "Levis est jactura sepulchri."

than it does at this moment. I live, and shall live as long as God pleases; and the day shall never come, of which it shall be said: *Budowa died of grief.*"

While in confinement he was visited by two Capuchin monks, who said they were come to do a work of mercy unto him in his present distress. He asked them, what this work of mercy was? to which they replied: "to show his Lordship the way to heaven." "You are come," rejoined he, "to show me the way to heaven: by the grace of God I have known it long ago." Not silenced by this reply, the monks intimated their fears, that he would find himself woefully deceived. "By no means" was his answer, "my hope is founded on the unerring Word of God. I know no other way to heaven than through Him, who hath said, *I am the way, and the truth, and the life.*" The monks continuing, on the authority of the Romish Church, to adduce several objections, he forcibly confuted them, and offered his visitors, if they would stay a while longer with him, clearly to point out to them the way to heaven. But for this they had no leisure, and, having crossed themselves, withdrew.

On the day of execution two Jesuits came and with great apparent friendship, told him, they were very desirous of saving his soul. To this he made the following answer: "My dear fathers, I only wish *you* were as certain of salvation as I am. Praise and thanks be to God, who by His Spirit hath assured me of salvation through the blood of the Lamb. I know in whom I have believed; I know there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." At these words he was interrupted by the Jesuits, who remarked, that he had no right to apply that text to himself, it being spoken by St. Paul solely in reference to his own person. "Nay," rejoined he, "in this you are grossly mistaken, for the Apostle adds, *which the Lord shall give not to me only, but unto* ALL *them also, that love his appearing.*"

By a reference to several other passages of Scripture, he so exposed their ignorance, that, though inwardly ashamed, they left him in a rage, as an incorrigible heretic. Soon after he mounted the scaffold, uncovered his head, and stroking down his silver locks, said: "behold my gray hairs, what honor is conferred upon them, to be encircled with the martyr's crown!"

Placing himself in an attitude of prayer, he presented his hoary head to the sword of the executioner, who quickly severed it from the body. It was afterwards fixed on a tower, as a public spectacle.

After some others had suffered, baron von Kapplich was called out. He was an old man of eighty six years, who, during the reigns of Rudolph and his successor, had honourably served the state. When sentence of death had been pronounced, he addressed the minister, who attended him, in the following manner: "In the eyes of the world my death will appear ignominious, but in the sight of God it will be glorious. On hearing my sentence pronounced the weakness of the flesh made me tremble, but by the grace of God I am now wholly divested of all fear of death." On the day of execution he gave orders to be dressed in his finest linen, saying to the minister, who was present; "I am putting on my wedding garment." The minister replied: "You are yet more gloriously arrayed in the robe of Christ's righteousness." "That is true," said the old man, "but I wish to be suitably dressed in honor of my heavenly bridegroom."

Being just then called to execution, he exclaimed: "In the name of God, I am ready; I have waited long enough." His servants now assisted him to rise from the chair, and led him gently forward. Having to descend a few steps, and being very weak in his knees, he earnestly prayed God to strengthen him, that he might not by falling, become an object of derision to his enemies. He had also sent to the executioner, requesting him to strike the blow instantly, as soon as he had knelt down, lest, if the stroke were delayed, he should sink to the ground through weakness. But the good old man stooped so much in kneeling, that the executioner would not venture to strike. This being perceived by the minister, he called out: "My lord, you have committed your soul to Christ; raise now cheerfully your hoary head and look towards heaven." Exerting all his strength, he raised his head, and while he exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit," it was severed from his body at one blow; and afterwards fixed on a spike over the gate.

Not less strengthened during the last conflict, was Henry Otto von Loss; with a few notices of whose execution we shall

close this section. He was one of the patrons of the Brethren's Church, and had held a high situation under government. He was one of those, whose scruples of conscience would not allow them to receive the sacrament from the hands of a Lutheran clergyman; and as no minister of his own Church was permitted to attend the prisoners, he had been deprived of this refreshing ordinance. This for a while caused him much distress; but the Lord was pleased to comfort him by means of a dream.

When the Lutheran minister entered his room in order to accompany him to the place of execution, he rose from his seat, and thus addressed him: "I do greatly rejoice to see you, O man of God, that I may tell you what has happened to me. I was sitting in this chair, absorbed in deep reflection and sad distress, on account of my being deprived of the holy sacrament, not being allowed to have one of my own ministers. Overwhelmed with sorrow, I fell asleep, and dreamed that our blessed Saviour appeared to me and said: 'My grace is sufficient for thee; my blood cleanseth thee from sin,' In that moment it seemed as if His blood flowed upon my heart. When I awoke I felt greatly refreshed, and mightily strengthened in the inner man."

Persuaded in his own mind, that the Lord had made use of this dream, as a means, to console him in his distress, he rose from his seat and gave vent to the grateful feelings of his heart, in the following words: "I thank thee, O my Saviour, that thou hast so richly comforted and assured me of thy favor, and of the forgiveness of my sins. Now I know what it is to believe and to enjoy. All fear of death is taken from me; I die gladly. Jesus, whom I saw in my dream, comes with his angels, to conduct my departing spirit to the marriage supper, where through all eternity I shall drink the new wine, the cup of salvation and of celestial joy. Yea, I am certain, that shameful as the manner of my death will be, it shall not separate me from my Redeemer. Having ascended the scaffold, he fell prostrate and spent a few minutes in silent prayer. Then rising up he put off his upper garment, kneeled down and exclaimed: "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit; have mercy on me and receive me into thy everlasting kingdom!"

The executioner did his duty; and, no doubt the emancipated spirit was numbered with those, who had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus.

With equal fortitude did all the other confessors manifest the reality of their faith and hope, by joyfully laying down their lives for the testimony of the gospel, and not one of them sought to preserve life by denying his Saviour.

From all the circumstances, attending this tragical scene, it appears most evident, that the sufferers were condemned to death and led to execution for their confession of the truths of the gospel, and not, as was pretended, for any crimes committed against the state. Could they have been prevailed on to submit to the yoke of popery and abjure those doctrines, which in their consciences they believed to be conformable to Scripture, they might have saved their lives, and any crimes against the state, even if they had really been guilty of them, would have been readily pardoned.

## SECTION III.

### *Sketch of the Life of* Amos Comenius—*and his Letter to the Brethren in* Moravia.

The learning and piety of Amos Comenius, and still more his zeal for the ancient Church of the Brethren, of which he was the last surviving bishop, and his indefatigable exertions to preserve it from utter ruin, fully justify us in devoting a few pages exclusively to a delineation of his character and labours. He was the connecting link between the ancient and the modern Church of the Brethren. By him its episcopacy was preserved, so as to be handed down in regular succession to the present age; and his writings were materially conducive in transfusing into the renewed Church of the Brethren no small portion of the spirit of its ancestors, and of reviving, in every essential point, its constitution in doctrine and discipline.

John Amos Comenius was born on the 28th of March, 1592, at Konma in Moravia. He early devoted himself to the ministry of the gospel in the Brethren's Church, and the better to

qualify himself for this, after receiving the rudiments of education at home, frequented the Reformed, (Calvinistic) universities of Herborn and Heidelberg. Having completed his academical course, he was appointed principal of the grammar school at Prezerow in Moravia, and in 1618 chosen minister of the congregation at Fulnek, the chief settlement of the Brethren in that country.

Six years after, when all Protestant ministers were banished, he retired for some time to the castle of a Bohemian baron, situated in the mountains, and paid occasional visits to his bereaved flock; but was obliged to quit this place of concealment in 1627, when all the Protestant nobility were expelled. Thus forced from his retreat, he emigrated, with part of his congregation, through Silesia into Poland. Having reached the summit of the mountains, which form the boundary, he cast one more sorrowful look on Bohemia and Moravia, and kneeling down with his fellow exiles, offered up a fervent prayer, imploring God not to suffer the light of his holy Word to be totally and for ever withdrawn from these countries; but to preserve there a seed which should serve him. The sequel of the history, especially as it relates to our own times, shews that this prayer was graciously heard and answered.

He and his company having arrived in Poland, he chose Lissa for his place of residence; and at a Synod held in this town in 1632, was consecrated bishop of the Bohemian and Moravian branch of the Brethren's Church, many members of which were dispersed in different countries. Here he published his introduction to the Latin tongue; a classical work which was translated into twelve European and several Asiatic languages. The fame of his erudition, and distinguished talents for the instruction of youth was widely circulated. He received invitations to Sweden, Transylvania, and England, where he laboured with much success for the improvement of schools. In the interval of these journies, he mostly resided at Lissa, and was occupied with the compilation of an extensive work, designed to be an epitome of all the sciences. But during a fire, which destroyed part of Lissa in 1656, his manuscripts and most of his books were consumed. In consequence of this dis-

aster, he went first to Frankfort on the Oder, from thence to Hornburg, and lastly to Amsterdam. Here he maintained himself by giving private tuition; and published his elementary works on education.

On his many journies into foreign countries he neglected no opportunity of soliciting the influence and patronage of persons in power, for the oppressed Church of the Brethren. But it is to be regretted that in his zeal to procure its liberty and promote its spiritual interests, he lent too ready an ear, to the many pretended prophecies, which were then afloat, concerning the speedy downfall of popery and the overthrow of the Austrian dominions. His credulity led him to receive these predictions as divine revelations, to recommend them as such to the study of others, and, contrary to the advice of his Brethren, to get them printed. In this instance his zeal was certainly not according to knowledge; for it was not only useless labour, and, under all the circumstances of the times, peculiarly dangerous in its tendency, but it really injured the cause it was designed to serve. While noticing this weakness of judgment in a man, otherwise so deservedly esteemed for his piety and learning, it is pleasing to reflect, that he lived long enough to see and lament his error, and as far as lay in his power to undo any mischief, which might have arisen to religion, by giving the sanction of his name and authority to these pretended prophecies. In his last work entitled, The One Thing Needful, published three years before his death, in the seventy seventh year of his age, he acknowledges and deeply deplores this error.

These pretended revelations, to which certain events, during the thirty years' war in Germany, might have given a colour of probability, confirmed his hopes of a speedy restoration of religious liberty. In the prospect of this, Comenius, during the continuance of the war, made repeated and earnest applications to all the Protestant princes, and particularly to the British Nation, to patronize the Brethren's Church. But when no provision was made for it in the treaty of peace concluded in Westphalia, in 1648, he relinquished all hopes of obtaining help from man.

How grievously this disappointment afflicted him is evident by the manner in which he speaks of it in a small treatise, containing an affecting description of the distress of his people; from which a few extracts are here inserted. "*We* ought indeed," says he, "patiently to bear the wrath of the Almighty; but will those be able to justify their conduct before God, whose duty it was to make common cause with *all* Protestants, but who, unmindful of former solemn compacts, have not come to the help of those who suffer oppression while promoting the common cause? Having procured peace for themselves, they never gave it a thought, that the Bohemians and Moravians, who were the first opponents of popery, and maintained the contest for centuries, deserved to be made partners in the privileges obtained, at least in so far as to prevent the extinction of gospel light in Bohemia, which they were the first to kindle and set on a candlestick. Yet this extinction has now actually taken place. This distressed people, therefore, which on account of its faithful adherence to the apostolic doctrine and the practice of the primitive Church, is now universally hated and persecuted, and even forsaken by its former associates, finding no mercy from man, has nothing left, but to implore the aid of the eternally merciful Lord God, and to exclaim, with his oppressed people of old: 'For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water, because the Comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me. But thou, O Lord, remainest for ever; thy throne is from generation to generation. Wherefore dost thou forget us for ever; and forsake us for so long time? Bring us back unto Thee, O Lord, that we may return to the *land* of our nativity; renew our days as of old'."*

The hope, that by the providence of God, the Brethren's Church would, in some way or other, experience a renewal, consoled Comenius for the grief he felt on account of its depression and declension in his day. Animated by this hope he, in 1649, published a History of the Brethren's Church, with

* Lament. i. 16, and chap. iv. 19—21. The latter part of the above quotation is a literal translation of Luther's version, and differs a little from the authorized English text, as may be seen by a reference to the passage.

an appendix, stating his views regarding its reformation and the improvement of its discipline. This work he dedicated to the Church of England, as his last will and testament, that by her it might be preserved for the use of the successors of the Brethren, whenever that Church should revive.* In his dedication he writes: "Should it please God, at a future period, to educe good from our present afflictions, and, according to his promise, make Christendom, after having received wholesome correction, instrumental in propagating the gospel among other nations; and do with us, as he did with the Jews, cause our fall to be the riches of the world, and our diminishing the riches of the Gentiles;† we, in that case, commend to you (the English church) our beloved mother, the Brethren's Church; that you may take care of her, whatever it may please God to do, whether to restore her in her native land, or, when deceased there, revive her elsewhere. Thus did God of old, for when he removed his ungrateful people from their country, and laid waste their city and temple, he did not suffer the basis of the altar to be destroyed, that, after the return of his people from captivity, their successors might re-build the temple on its former foundation.‡ If then (as some wise and pious men have thought) there has been found in our Church any thing true, honest, just, pure and lovely, any thing of good report, any virtue and any praise; care ought by all means to be taken, that this may not perish with us, but, that the foundation, at least, may not be so entirely overthrown in the present ruin, as not to be discoverable by succeeding generations. Into your hands, therefore, we commit this precious deposit, and thus by your care, make provision for posterity."

It is scarce possible to read these pious effusions, without beholding in them something almost prophetic.

Though separated from the people of his former charge, who had not accompanied him in his exile, but remained in Bohemia and Moravia, where they lived in retirement, deprived of the rites of the Church, he still endeavoured to promote their spiritual edification. In this view he compiled a Catechism, which

* This work was translated from the Latin, and published in London in 1661.

† Rom. xi. 12. ‡ Ezra iii. 3.

was printed in Amsterdam, in 1661, and dedicated it to the scattered sheep of Christ, especially those in Fulnek and its vicinity. At the close of the dedication he says: "The God of all grace grant you to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man, that you may continue in prayer, be kept from sin, and endure in the hour of temptation and trial, to the praise of his name and your everlasting comfort in his kingdom." It is somewhat remarkable, that from all those towns and villages in Moravia, which are mentioned in this dedication, persons came to Herrnhut in the next century, and assisted in the revival of the Brethren's Church.

Still intent on doing all in his power to preserve the Brethren's Church from utter ruin, Comenius resolved on the election and ordination of a bishop, to prevent the total extinction of this order, which had been preserved to the Brethren, in regular succession, for upwards of two hundred years. The election fell on Nicolaus Gertichius and Paul Jablonsky, the former being appointed for the congregations in Poland, and the latter for the persecuted and dispersed members of the Church in Bohemia and Moravia. The consecration took place at Mielencin in Poland, in the year 1662. But Jablonsky dying before Comenius, whose daughter he had married, his son Daniel Ernestus Jablonsky, chaplain in ordinary at the court of Berlin, was appointed his successor in 1669. And through him episcopal ordination was afterwards transferred to the renewed Church of the Brethren.

On the 15th of October, 1672, Amos Comenius closed his laborious and useful life, at the advanced age of eighty years, of which he had spent nearly forty-four in banishment.

The following letter written by him during his exile, and sent to his beloved, but bereaved flock in Moravia, may with propriety be added to the preceding sketch of his life. This document is the more valuable, because it makes us acquainted with the spirit, which animated the ancient Brethren's Church, in its best days, and with those internal causes which, aided by external oppression, accelerated its decline. It is the work of one, who possessed competent knowledge of his subject, and it exhibits, in a very affecting manner, the good bishop's grief on account

of the existing evils, and his earnest solicitude, that the remnant which was left, should repent and do their first works: It is therefore inserted at length, in as literal a translation as possible.

"JOHN AMOS COMENIUS to the faithful remnant of the Bohemian Brethren, now in a state of dispersion.

"*I know thy works, and thy labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars: And hast borne and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted. Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen; and repent and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly and will remove thy candlestick out of its place except thou repent.*" *Revel. ii. 2—6.*

Your ancestors, little flock of the Brethren, were a people which, filled with the fear of God, detested idolatry and superstition, and earnestly seeking salvation, devoted themselves entirely to the pursuit of heavenly things. They were not, like Martha, encumbered with earthly care, but, like Mary, delighted to sit at the feet of Jesus, and, hanging on his lips, to forget all else; a people which, because they followed only Christ, were despised, ridiculed and persecuted by the world, but confidently left their defence to the Lord. Their determination was, to be separated from no real Christians, neither to found nor maintain a *new* sect in Christendom, but rather to be united with all, in every place, who call on the Lord Jesus Christ with a pure heart, and serve God in the Spirit.

But, observing the corruption and confusion, which every where prevailed, your ancestors saw the necessity of setting forth in its original order and purity what God hath revealed in his Word, for the salvation of men. They, therefore, began to make a wise distinction between the *essential* articles of Christian doctrine, the *means* of grace, and the *circumstantials* of religion. They denominated *Essentials* the three principal pillars of Christianity, viz. FAITH, HOPE, CHARITY, without which, according to the Scriptures, no one can be

saved. *Means* they called those helps which God has given us, that by the co-operation of his Spirit, we may, by the use of them attain faith, hope and charity. These means are the Word of God, the Keys of the kingdom* and the Sacraments. Finally, they considered as *circumstantials* the mode and manner, in which the means are to be used and applied. To these they reckoned all rites and customs, and every thing which belongs to the exterior of divine worship and ecclesiastical regulations, which are alterable, and to be made according to the best of human judgment, so that the salvation of men, agreeably to God's gracious will, may thereby be promoted.

Hence it happened by the grace of God, who "will teach the meek his way, whose secret is with them that fear him, and who will shew his covenant" to them that ask to know his will, in order to do it, that in their conduct they exhibited faith, charity and hope, in purity, fervor and constancy. Faith, simple and unassuming, not speculating on points of doubtful disputation; but receiving the heavenly mysteries as divine truth without cavil; fervent charity, which evidences the reality of faith by works, and constantly aims at the edification and comfort of our neighbour: and lastly steadfast hope in the mercy of God, which being wholly absorbed in the contemplation of eternal realities, does not regard the fading treasures of this world. This elicited in them the desire to please Christ in all things, however they might thereby displease the world. They were ready in humility to be subject to every man; but they would let no man lord it over their consciences. This they considered the sole prerogative of the Spirit of God, speaking in his Word. They rejoiced in tribulations, but never intentionally brought them upon themselves, by wilfully offending any one. They endeavoured, as far as possible, to keep their children ignorant of the vanities of the world, lest being allured by them, they should neglect to seek heavenly treasures. This induced them to cultivate in their general deportment, instead of vain pageantry, unaffected simplicity; instead of voluptuous luxury, moderation and chastity; instead of roughness of manners, meekness; instead of a revengeful spirit, pa-

* See Math. xvi. 19. By this term was understood church discipline.

tience under injuries; instead of disunion, concord; and to train their children and domestics to like conduct, that thus each and all might seek after whatsoever is true, whatsoever is honest, whatsoever is just, whatsoever is chaste, whatsoever is lovely and of good report." THIS WAS THEN THE CHARACTER OF A BROTHER OR SISTER IN CHRIST AMONG US.

How disgraceful is it to deviate from such an example! and surely the divine chastisements, which are now inflicted, ought to teach you, how painful it is, that we have already deviated from it. For our deviation is proved by the very chastisement, wherewith Christ is visiting us; because we have left our first love. It is too palpable to be denied. The Tree of the outward order appears indeed still to be standing; the name and certain external forms, which strike the eye, cover it as it were, with bark and leaves; but that the kernel within is for the most part dried up, and that it produces no fruit, or, at best, only sour grapes, can not be denied by any, who know what fruit the Lord expects from the vineyard of his Church.

For, where now is the holiness of life, which distinguished our ancestors? Where is the respect, the willing obedience, which the younger formerly shewed to their superiors, and the congregations to their ministers, as unto Christ? Where shall we find the complete concord of the members of a congregation, which made the whole multitude appear as *one* mind, *one* soul? Where is the apostolic hospitality shewn to strangers? Where the meekness shewn even to enemies, which formerly distinguished us? Then no one desired to contend with others about articles of faith, but to live consistently with the profession of faith. Our pious forefathers left wars and fightings to those who took pleasure in them, for they deemed it better, according to the example of Christ, to bear, suffer and love. O that we were now able to say the same of ourselves.

Is our attention more particularly directed to the shepherds and teachers of our congregations, then the question arises, where do we now find the solicitude, the indefatigable labor, the vigilance and holiness, which were so highly commended in our ancestors? Are there still many among us, who, following the example of the apostle Paul, serve the Church gra-

tuitously? Who, though they have a right, as the apostles of Christ, yet are unwilling to become burdensome to the Church? But who are affectionately desirous of their hearers, and, being gentle, even as a nurse cherisheth her children, are willing to impart unto them not the gospel of God only, but also their own selves because they are dear to them? Who would rather labor day and night than be chargeable to any to whom they preach the gospel? Who behaving themselves holily, justly and unblameably, exhort, comfort, and charge every one, as a father doth his children, that they would walk worthy of God?* Is there still the former contentment with moderate things, the same frugality, and undervaluing of riches to be found among us?

Further, where do we now find that aptness to teach, which adapts the subject and style of our discourses to the understanding and capacities of our hearers? Where do we behold an earnest solicitude to discover the inmost necessities of the hearts and consciences of men, and to suit our sermons to the state of our hearers, that each sheep and lamb of Christ may be led to that pasture, which is best suited to his present spiritual necessities? Alas! our hearers are no longer "the epistles" of our ministers, as they were in the days of our ancestors, according to the example of Christ and his apostles; but we make use of epistles, composed by pastors of other flocks, and from which we introduce passages, which cannot profit our hearers, and are ill adapted to the present state of things; which only create itching ears, but do not reach the consciences of men. And still we are surprised that our discourses have no longer the power of influencing the hearts of men and directing them to God. Our sermons no longer penetrate the hearts of our hearers, but rather tend to lull them asleep; or at the most to excite their feelings after a carnal sort. For we preach Christ crucified, not like Paul and our ancestors, in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling, and therefore not in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, 'but with enticing words of man's wisdom,' as taught in the schools of rhe-

* 1 Thess. ii. 6—12.

toric. Endeavouring thus, after the example of others, to adorn the doctrines of the gospel with the flowers of oratory, we cause the cross of Christ to become of none effect.

Have you still bishops, resembling those of primitive times? Men, zealous to win souls, and so successful, that in a short time and amidst persecutions, they planted many flourishing congregations? Or, at least, such men, who are possessed of the requisite knowledge and solicitude, diligently to water the plantations, committed to their care, and thus preserve them in a flourishing state? This is effected by frequent visits to the congregations, which should be undertaken not only as a matter of form, but with a hearty desire of removing offences and promoting edification. While Paul did not neglect to plant, and Apollos to water, God also was not slack in giving the increase. But if, on the contrary, our garden is less fruitful, and its fruit already degenerating, must we not confess, that our dilligence in planting and watering has declined, and for this very reason that divine blessing has been withheld, which alone can give success to our labor. Thou, Lord, art righteous, but we must be ashamed before thee!

Are the patrons of our church and our nobles still instructed as formerly, not to despise their inferiors, to assist and not to oppress their tenantry, not to consider themselves lords, but only stewards of their property, not idly to squander what their tenants have earned for them by the sweat of their brows, but to use it to the glory of God, the good of their neighbours, and the benefit of the poor; to avoid profligacy, luxury, pride, drunkenness, gaming, contentions, and all other vices; and seek the true splendor of their elevated rank in the splendor of their virtues? Do all our nobles study to turn their mansions into little churches? Is none of them ashamed, in the absence of a chaplain, to be a priest in his own house, to assemble his household to prayer, and by his own example to quicken them in this duty? Do they keep their houses free from parasites, talebearers, sycophants, and other vile persons, as our fathers did in their day, without respect of persons? No one then was suffered to sin with impunity. But, alas, those holy times have passed away!

Can it be said even of the few individuals, who still are members of our Church, that they are distinguished in their morals from others, who are without the pale of church discipline? Have we still Philippians, who are the joy and crown of their teachers, and heartily and willingly care for them? Or Galatians, who are ready to pluck out their own eyes and give them to their teachers? Or Thessalonians, who receive the testimony of their ministers, not as the word of man, but as the word of God, and their ministers as angels of God, yea, as Christ Jesus himself? Have we Corinthians, who are obedient in all things? Such were our ancestors. But what is the case now? Are there many who have obeyed the admonitions given them, to adhere steadfastly to the doctrines acknowledged as divine truth? And they who have done so, have they in all other respects likewise honored their profession of the truth? Alas! it is come so far, that our people esteem those vices only as sinful, which are discredited even by the world, and they will no longer abstain from conviviality, dancing, vanity in dress, and other things, which bring dishonour on the gospel. In short, we have so degenerated, that we are no longer like the same people. Were you to rise from the dead, *Lasitius*, or you, *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, &c. how altered would you find those congregations, in which you formerly recognized an apostolical Church, cemented by the bond of brotherly love!

But what shall we do, who are heirs of the simplicity of our ancestors? Shall we retain the name without the reality? It were to be wished, that the commendations, passed by so many great and pious men on our congregations, might operate on our consciences like marks imprinted with a burning iron;* that the pain and shame caused thereby, might force us to become again what we are called, an *evangelical Unity of the Brethren*, or cease to be called what we are not; otherwise we are in danger of incurring yet heavier judgments from God, who may even permit our total ruin. One of our pious bishops,

* This is an allusion to the custom of branding the forehead of criminals with a hot iron, which leaves an indelible mark.

Lucas of Prague,* has very truly remarked, that the ruin of the Brethren's Unity was to be apprehended, not from the persecutions of enemies, but from laxity in church-discipline. For our enemies have not destroyed us, but we ourselves. Even the small remnant that is left, they cannot hurt, for God knows how to defend his people against the combined rage of earth and hell, but we shall destroy ourselves, unless we repent and do our first works.

For, what formerly distinguished us from others, was moral discipline. The doctrines of the gospel we had in common with many others. When we relinquished our moral discipline, our congregations, as it were, gave up the ghost, we became a dead body, which instead of being preserved, ought rather to be interred, to prevent the spreading of corruption. However it is not yet necessary to inter it, for though the body is diseased, it may yet, by applying proper remedies, be recovered. For, though the bonds of discipline have been slackened, they are not entirely dissolved, much less thrown away; they may again be more closely joined together. A limb, though dislocated, is not lost, and can be restored. Therefore, in our present situation, the voice of God sounds in our ears: "Lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees: and make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way; but let it rather be healed."† If you do not attend to this voice, ye shepherds, who have survived the destruction of the flock, you shall hear another voice, proclaiming: "Woe to the shepherds of Israel; the diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which is sick; neither have ye bound up that which is broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost."‡

The time is come, dear brethren, for each and all of us to remember from whence we are fallen, to return, and none to stay behind. Let us not wait for a more convenient season and a better opportunity; otherwise we run the risk to lose what is still left us, and be totally destroyed. For God hath caused

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* He died in 1528. † Heb. xii. 12—13. ‡ Ezek. xxxiv. 2—4.

us to pass under the rod, and he will bring us into the bond of the covenant,* that he may guide us with his shepherd-crook.

Should it even be impossible any longer to avert our utter ruin, may it overtake us, not as obstinate but as penitent sinners, that, being reconciled to God, we may not die under his wrath, but obtain eternal life, even though the prospect of better times in *this* life should altogether be lost.

Finally, whether we live or die, let us try to preserve from total destruction the precious deposit, which God has entrusted to our Church, and, as far as lies in our power, recommend it to other Churches; that we may thus, even in the hour of death, fulfil the wish of our ancestors, that this deposit, ceasing to be the property of a *few only*, might be generally possessed by ALL. By devoutly retracing our steps, let us even in death instruct others; in other words, let us make our last will and testament, and seal it with our death. It is no unusual thing, that the heir knows better how to improve the property bequeathed him, than the original possessor, who may have been too penurious.

We cannot indeed fathom the secret counsel of God, in permitting our ruin, if it should really take place. But this we know, that Samson injured his enemies more at his death than during his life; and that it behoved the Son of God to die in order to destroy death; and he has declared that even vegetable life is perpetuated by the death of the seed, for it is only by the extinction of the seed, that the grain sprouts and lives.†

Let none therefore think: that, because the patient is at the point of death, it is therefore too late to hope for recovery; too late to keep the candlestick in its place, because it is thrust away, thrown down, broken, and ready to be demolished. For divine omnipotence can revive the dead. Yes, our master can reunite the broken pieces, and cause a tree cut down at the roots, to sprout and grow. And who will say, that we are quite dead, that the vessel is completely broken, the tree cut down? Our Church indeed resembles a dying man, but yet, one who still draws breath; a broken vessel, but one whose

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* Ezek. xx. 37. † John xii. 24.

pieces still hang together; a tree, whose twigs have been cut off, and are lying at its roots, but whose roots are still fast in the ground, and its trunk and branches have not yet lost all sap and life. Wherefore, then, should we yield to absolute despair?

Let none say: We have lost our congregations; what then have we to amend? Is it necessary, because we have lost our congregations, that their spiritual glory should also depart? This glory can again be exhibited, if the remnant of our Church, however small, is reformed, or if the true pattern of ecclesiastical order is fully brought to view. When only two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, there is a congregation, and Christ is in the midst of them. Though Peter himself could not collect more than one hundred and twenty souls, even these constituted a universal Church, and had authority to supply vacant offices.*

We are dispersed; but it does not follow, that our piety and zeal must thereby be lost; rather we ought all to be the more closely united, in order to be confirmed in faith, hope and charity. Should only a single individual be left, even then the word of faith would not lose its power. In general, godliness is better advanced among a small number, than among a great multitude, owing to the general propensity to evil which often counteracts the good. Therefore it is repeatedly written in the Bible: "a remnant shall return, a remnant shall be saved;"† as if conversion and amendment were not possible till after the separation of the great multitude from the small remnant.

Again, let none say: we are now in distress. For the season of trouble is the time to seek the Lord, while we feel his chastisements. Let us always remember this, that our Church arose, matured and flourished amidst persecution; in days of tranquillity her flowers faded. Being again in distress, we may expect her revival, unless it shall appear that she can revive no more.

Ye shepherds of the flock, set a good example to the rest,

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* Acts i. 15.

† Isa. x. 22. Amos, ix. 8. Zech. xiii. 8—9. Rom. ix. 27.

be not remiss in preaching the Word and wisely applying a holy discipline. Spiritual sleep and corruption began in your order, therefore be you *the first* to awake and rouse yourselves. Before you try to reform the people, let each of you reform himself, his conscience, his conduct, and his house and connexions, that every thing may be so ordered as to please the Lord, and that you may preserve a good conscience, and your flocks behold in you living patterns for their imitation. If you neglect this, all your other exertions will be in vain.

The ultimate aim of all the endeavours of every minister should be, to travail in birth of children until Christ be formed in them.* If he aims at any thing else, he loses sight of his proper calling, and his work will not stand when tried by fire.† Our fathers, who in this respect also were successful imitators of the Apostles, have placed us on a sure foundation, the immoveable rock, Christ, and taught us to build on this foundation, neither hay nor stubble, that is to say, not a system of mere opinions and customs; but gold of the purest faith, silver of the most shining charity, and the precious stones of hope, which maketh not ashamed.‡ We trust the present fiery trial, will destroy the chaff and stubble, and we shall begin afresh to build with gold, silver and precious stones. If we neglect this, we ourselves shall be consumed in the fire of the wrath of God.

In performing your ministerial functions draw wisdom and eloquence from the treasures of God's holy Word; and leave it to others, if they please, to frame their discourses on the models of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*. But do you speak like *Moses*, *David*, *Isaiah*, *Peter*, *Paul*, and *Christ* himself, and remember the rule: "If any man speak let him speak as the oracles of God;"‖ that is so say, let him declare heavenly truths with a heavenly mind and heavenly fervor. For the Word of God when rightly applied is like a fire, which consumes human vanity; like a hammer which breaketh in pieces the stony heart of the most hardened sinner.§ Therefore I exhort you, my dearly beloved, follow the example of our ancestors, and like

* Gal iv. 19. † 1 Corinth. iii. 13, 15. ‡ 1 Corinth. iii. 11, 12. Rom. v. 5. ‖ 1 Pet. iv. 11. § Jerem. xxiii. 29.

them love and revere the Holy Scriptures above all human writings, and draw your doctrine, your propositions, your very phrases and words from this source. If you do this, you will soon perceive that the Spirit of God will return and work through you, according to his almighty power, that which is pleasing in his sight. I must particularly request you to abstain in your pulpit addresses from the discussion of subjects purely controversial, as our fathers did. It is to be lamented, that, through a certain intellectual itching, this method is in some places become very general; so that ministers seem to take greater delight in confuting false doctrines, than teaching the true, to be more intent on pulling down than on building up, and thus infuse into the minds of their hearers, rather hatred than love; which is quite contrary to the example of Christ and his Apostles, inflicts visible injury on true godliness, and freezes Christian love among Christian people.

Imitate the simplicity of your ancestors in this respect. They felt no desire to be initiated into those subtleties, the discussion of which ought to be confined to the professor's chair; and under the conviction, that God was better pleased with a believing heart than an ingenious head; they taught their hearers to fight rather against their own sinful propensities, than against the errors of others. They felt certain, that on the day of final decision Christ would not enquire, what we had *learned* on earth, but rather what we had *done;* and that every one will receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. In short, they were satisfied to follow the Apostle Paul, and to know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified, and to set him forth to the people.* Let this be your practice, and you will be faithful teachers of true Christianity.

It is not sufficient, however, that you preach the gospel, and for your own persons live conformably to its doctrines, but it behoves you to exhort and charge those committed to your care, to walk worthy of the gospel, and according to the power delegated to you, to subdue all things to the obedience of Christ. In this respect some of you have been too yielding,

* Math. xxv. 35.—1 Corinth. ii. 2.—Gal. iii. 1.

and through fear of man overlooked what deserved reproof. To such, I say, take courage. Others, through ignorance of the true nature of church-discipline, have endeavoured to attain their end by stern severity. To them, I say, amend your conduct. For it is easy to err on both sides, by doing too little, as well as by doing too much. If discipline is neglected, the bonds of order are slackened, and unrestrained liberty is given to sin. On the contrary, a too rigid discipline, which tries to *force* obedience, is inconsistent with real godliness, which must be voluntary, and either makes hypocrites, who through fear of punishment avoid transgressing, or engenders obstinacy and disregard of punishment, and induces the guilty in order to escape correction, to leave a church, where discipline is maintained. Observe, therefore, that kind of discipline which brings peace to the conscience, and does not cause uneasiness, hatred and ruin; and use the power which the Lord hath given you, to save and not to destroy. But, in order to do this, it is necessary that you exercise discipline, with unimpeachable impartiality, towards every one committed to your charge, that you be of the same mind on all occasions, and uniformly watch over the public welfare, and employ stricter or gentler means with due discretion, according to the circumstances of time and place, so that the measure of the same may be wisely adapted to the exigencies of the case. Above all it is required, that you should at no time be wanting in proper vigilance, in order to prevent transgressions and as far as possible cut off all opportunities to sin, and thereby render severer measures for amendment unnecessary.

And you, who constitute our flock, however few you may be in number, assist us with your fervent prayers to effect this holy work of our regeneration. For we *all* have sinned, each in his own way; therefore let us ALL repent, each for himself, that God may be gracious to *all*, and turn away his wrath from us.

Do not lose courage, dear brethren, for though the misery into which we have sunk, is exceedingly great; yet we have not sunk so deeply, but we may still be restored by the hand of Him, who "killeth and maketh alive, who bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up."*

* 1 Sam ii. 6.

Were even our body to go to corruption, and our withered bones to lie scattered on the fields of the world, yet the Lord liveth, who can collect the dry bones, cover them with flesh and skin, and call from the four winds, the breath to come and breathe on those slain that they may live.* In plainer terms, God can raise unto himself in our stead and from our ashes, a people, who shall honor him, being enlightened by the same divine truth, inflamed by the same fire of love, and united by the same bonds of order and discipline; and thus the enemies who aim at the overthrow of the throne of Christ in the congregations of the faithful, shall be put to greater shame, and the encrease of His Church be more extensively promoted, than hath been done by us."

* Ezek. xxxvii. 6. 9.

# CHAP. IV.

STATE OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH AFTER THE LOSS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA, TILL ITS REVIVAL IN GERMANY. FROM THE YEAR 1624 TO 1722.

THE CHURCH of the Brethren had now, without any external support, existed for more than a century and a half. During this period it weathered many a storm, and resisted the more dangerous blandishments of the world. Neither the rage of enemies nor the flattery of friends succeeded in corrupting the purity of doctrine and morals, which generally distinguished its members. Taught to receive the Word of God as the *only* infallible rule of faith and practice, its children were made wise unto salvation; and, nursed in the cradle of persecution, it gave to the world many noble Confessors, who, in the dungeon, at the stake, and on the scaffold, sealed their testimony of Jesus with their blood.

From a small seed it became a spreading tree, which by its ramifications afforded shelter and nourishment to many thousand travellers to Zion. This was the work of Him, who originally "called it out of darkness into his marvellous light, and ordained that it should bring forth fruit, and that its fruit should remain." The same almighty Lord, who had hitherto restrained the fury of the oppressor, and set bounds to the wrath of the enemy, did now, for wise and holy, though to us inscrutable, purposes, suffer the foe to triumph, and the candlestick of the Moravian Church to be removed.

While the war in Germany continued, the Protestants in Bohemia and Moravia still entertained hopes, that, after its ter-

mination, their religious liberties would be restored. But these hopes vanished entirely when the war terminated. By the treaty of peace, concluded in Westphalia, in 1648, the kingdoms of Bohemia and Moravia came again under the papal yoke, and the Protestants, of every denomination, saw all their hopes of regaining religious liberty completely annihilated. No alternative was left them, but either to embrace popery, or, if their consciences forbade this, to prepare for the most violent and unrelenting persecution; for their enemies now had the sole power in their hands, and were not disinclined to use it to the uttermost. The secrecy, which those Protestants, who remained concealed in their native land, were forced to observe, prevented them from transmitting any authentic records of their history; whereby the world and the church have been deprived of many additional proofs of the rage of their adversaries, of the sufferings and constancy of many bold confessors of the truth, and of the grace and power of the omnipotent Lord of his Church, in preserving a race of faithful witnesses of His Word, whose light, though greatly obscured by the thick darkness, which covered their country, did here and there illumine the path of the bewildered pilgrim, and shew him the way to holiness and happiness. All, therefore, that can be done in this chapter, is to glean a few well authenticated facts concerning the circumstances of the Brethren's Church at this period, of which it may be said, that "its witnesses prophesied, *clothed in sackcloth.*"

On the re-commencement of persecution in Bohemia and Moravia, the Protestants sought deliverance by emigrations, which, notwithstanding all the impediments thrown in their way, was effected by thousands. The majority went into Saxony and Upper Lusatia, to the Erzgebirge, Voightland and Franconia, which were Protestant States. In some instances they built whole villages, and formed colonies of their own. In larger towns they were for a while accommodated with churches and chose their own ministers. Great companies also went into Prussia and Silesia, where they were well received and patronized by the duke of Brieg. By degrees, however, they became mixed with the other inhabitants, discontinued the use of their native

language and customs, and in the second, or third generation, exhibited but few marks of that fervent piety, which had distinguished their ancestors.

Many of those who belonged to the Brethren's communion, emigrated into Poland, where they found congregations of their own confession, and enjoyed the privilege of their peculiar ecclesiastical constitution, which was denied them in other countries. Not only during the persecution in Moravia, but for a considerable time after the loss of religious liberty in that kingdom, Poland was the chief seat of the Brethren's Church. Here its Synods continued to assemble, and its episcopal ordination was preserved, and from hence congregations in other places were supplied with ministers. But here also the ancient faith and zeal of the Brethren were gradually lost. Political troubles breaking out about the year 1709, the Protestants were persecuted; and the Roman Catholics, who had gained over most of the Polish grandees and nobility, obtained the ascendancy. These occurrences, together with the spiritual declension of the members, hastened the gradual extinction of the Polish branch of the Brethren's Church. In 1712, a Synod was convened, which on account of the troubles in Poland, assembled at Zulchow, on the confines of Brandenburg. And before the end of the same year, another Synod was held at Thorn, on which occasion David Cassius and Christian Sitkovius were ordained bishops of the Brethren's Church by Daniel Ernestus Jablonsky. Cassius died four years after; but Sitkovius lived long enough to assist at the ordination of the first bishop of the renewed Church of the Brethren, in 1735. Thus at the beginning of the last century the name of Moravian Brethren was nearly forgotten among the other Christian denominations.

England was almost the only country, in which the distressed situation of the Brethren in Poland awakened the sympathies of Christian charity. In 1715, an Order of the Privy Council was issued, "for the relief and for preserving the episcopal churches in Great Poland and Polish Prussia," This order of Council was granted, "upon the humble petition of the bishops and clergy of the reformed episcopal churches, first settled in Bohemia, and since forced, by the persecutions of their ene-

mies, to retire into Great Poland, and Polish Prussia;" and was obtained for them "upon a representation, made to his Majesty by Dr. William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. John Robinson, Bishop of London." In consequence of this representation, the king granted a general *Brief*, ordaining collections to be made in all churches for their relief.

Besides the pecuniary aid hereby afforded to the Brethren in Poland, another important point was gained; the history, doctrine, and constitution of their Church became better known in England. Not satisfied with the relation of the Polish Deputies, the archbishop of Canterbury entered into a correspondence with their bishop, D. E. Jablonsky, whose answer was so satisfactory that he and other English prelates zealously espoused their cause. In a sermon, preached on their behalf by Dr. Thomas Bennet, in London and Southwark, in 1715, he defended the antiquity of their church, the soundness of their doctrine, and the succession of their bishops, against the misrepresentation of their enemies.*

The emigration from Bohemia and Moravia commenced about the year 1624, and continued with occasional intermissions, till 1732, or perhaps four or five years later; during which period probably more than one hundred thousand Moravian Brethren and other Protestants escaped from the spiritual tyranny of the church of Rome. One of the later emigrations, which took place about the year 1730, is particularly noticed by Crantz,† who states, on undoubted authority, that at that time no less than thirty thousand persons emigrated from Saltzburg for conscience sake. In all their emigrations, the persons who undertook them, and many of whom were possessed of considerable wealth, were obliged to leave all their property behind them. This circumstance is an indubitable proof of their sincerity and strength of religious principle; we the more lament that its influence was so soon lost by their posterity.

Many circumstances from without, aided by the tendency to deterioration, which affects all human undertakings, accelerated their declension. This is acknowledged by Comenius, who

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* Acta Fratrum, p. 21 and 41. † Brethren's History, p. 8.

writes concerning those emigrants, that were members of the Brethren's Church: "Many of those who left their native country, in order to remain faithful to God and their profession, either lost their courage and constancy through the difficulties and perils of their exile, or their number was so diminished by long protracted distress, that comparatively few have survived." This testimony of an eye-witness is confirmed by this fact, among others, that of two hundred ministers of the Brethren's Church, who went into exile, one hundred and four died in the space of ten years.

While their numbers were lessened by external troubles, the prevalence of worldliness and religious indifference, if not of open impiety, among Protestant Christians, acted as a slow poison, by gradually weakening the influence of divine truth on the minds of those, who had once confessed it at the risk of their lives, and still more on the minds of their children and children's children. Yet, amidst this gradual degeneracy, there were not a few among the posterity of the ancient Brethren's Church, in whom, though they lived among unregenerate Protestants, the seed of the divine Word had not become extinct, but continued, though slowly, to grow and produce the peaceable fruits of righteousness. Their family names sufficiently demonstrate their Bohemian or Moravian extraction, and they were not ignorant, that their ancestors had left house and home for the Gospel's sake. These persons, in their respective places of abode, distinguished themselves among their neighbours by their Christian deportment and the pious education of their children. And when, in process of time, it pleased the Lord to revive the Church of the Brethren, they rejoiced in the event, and many of them joined its communion.

For reasons already stated, very little is known of those Moravian Brethren, who, during the persecution, remained at home in concealment. Their number was not inconsiderable. Externally they were all compelled to conform to the superstitious rites of the reigning Church. That many of them secretly groaned under this spiritual thraldom is certain, though their faith in Jesus might not be strong enough to enable them to forsake

*all* for his sake. And even when this was the case, the obstacles thrown in the way of their emigration, both by friends and foes, were often insurmountable. They not only were closely watched by enemies, but their nearest relatives sometimes betrayed them. When detected in the act of emigrating, imprisonment and torture, and sometimes even death, was their lot. The majority probably, by degrees, declined in piety, as they daily witnessed, in the very persons who styled themselves their spiritual guides, instead of pure and undefiled religion, nothing but a repetition of puerile and superstitious rites, and acts of immorality and licentiousness. Not a few, however, remained faithful to the light and knowledge they had received, and, notwithstanding they lived in the bosom of a corrupt and antichristian communion, were kept unspotted from the world, and partook not in its abominations.

Their difficulties and trials were great; but God sustained, and finally gave them the victory. Those of their own household frequently proved their bitterest foes, and husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, were not seldom kept in fear of each other. Deprived of the public ordinances of religion, they endeavoured to compensate this loss by a diligent perusal of the Word of God in private, and by various acts of devotion in their families, when they had no reason to apprehend that they would be betrayed by some inmate in the house. Besides their domestic meetings for edification, they sometimes assembled together in larger companies during the night, in cellars and other obscure retreats. This was attended with much danger, as they were sometimes betrayed; in which case prisons and tortures awaited them. But often also did they, in the most surprising manner, experience the Lord's help and protection.

These faithful descendants of the Brethren's Church resided chiefly in the town of Fulnek, in Moravia, and the adjacent villages, where Amos Comenius had exercised his episcopal functions, till his banishment in 1627. They were accustomed to meet, in larger and smaller companies, sometimes in one, and sometimes in another place. At these meetings they read the Bible, the Brethren's Hymn-Book, and such other evangelical writings as they could procure; and conversed together on the

saving doctrines of the gospel, the concerns of the Brethren's Church, the spiritual decline of many of its members, and the oppression of the few who still remained faithful. On these occasions they poured forth their tears and supplications to the Lord, and solemnly renewed their promise and pledge to each other to abide steadfast in the faith of Christ. At times they even celebrated, though in great secrecy, the Lord's Supper.

A principal promoter of these assemblies was George Jaeschke in Sehlen, a village belonging to the Jesuits. His ancestors had emigrated from Bohemia into Moravia, during the persecution in the fifteenth century. He was a genuine descendant of the ancient Brethren's Church, a man of tried piety, imbued with something of a patriarchal spirit, and one whose aid and counsel were sought by the faithful in these times of oppression. In his children and connections the Church of the Brethren was revived, not many years after his decease. A few biographical notices, therefore, chiefly relating to his latter days, may be suitably introduced at the close of the first part of this work; for he forms, as it were, the connecting link of the two great periods, into which the history of the Brethren's Church is divided.

It may be truly said of him, that like Enoch, he walked with God, and his chief employment consisted in prayer, reading and meditation, and in performing kind offices to his Brethren; by administering comfort to the afflicted, warning the unstable, and "strengthening the things that remained, and which were ready to die." And, like Abraham, he faithfully instructed his children and household, and admonished them to walk in the fear of the Lord.

His daughter Judith had married George Neisser, by whom she had five sons. To teach these his grandsons the way of salvation, was his daily delightful occupation. For this purpose, he recommended to them diligently to read the Bible, together with the publications of the Brethren and the works of Luther. More especially he endeavoured to impress on their minds the necessity of personal religion, so as to apply to themselves the

atonement of Jesus, by which they might obtain forgiveness of sins, and be made willing and able henceforth not to live to themselves, but to the Lord Jesus, for "without this" he used to say, "we must perish with the world, notwithstanding the correctness of our scriptural knowledge."

In far advanced age he married a second time, and God blessed this union with a son, born on the 27th of September 1700. He named him Michael, and from his earliest infancy endeavoured to impress him with a sense of the love of God in Christ Jesus. Feeling that his end was fast approaching he sent for this his little son, his grand-children and their families. When they were assembled round his bed, he imparted to them his farewell benediction. With paternal affection he earnestly exhorted them, to remain faithful unto death to the Lord Jesus, and to the grace they had received, to cleave to him with all their heart and with all their soul; adding, that they would obtain great deliverance, for the Lord would certainly hear the prayer of his elect, who cry unto him day and night. He closed his address nearly in these words: "It is true, our liberty is taken from us, the majority of the descendants of our Church follow the spirit of the world and are swallowed up by popery; and it even has the appearance as though the cause of the Brethren was ruined for ever. But you, my dear children, will live to see a day of deliverance for the remnant that is left; whether here in Moravia, or whether you will have to come out of Babylon, I know not, but of this I am certain, that your deliverance is not far distant. I almost think, that you will have to emigrate into another country, where the Lord will prepare you a place, where you may serve him without fear, according to his holy Word. When that time arrives, then be you ready, and take care, that you be not among the last, or remain at home. Remember, what I have told you." Then, pointing to his infant son, he added: "This my son shall also be the property of Jesus. I commend him to you: take good care of him, and when you emigrate, see to it, that he be not left behind." Having with imposition of hands, and while the tears rolled down his venerable cheeks, imparted his last blessing to his son and

all his grand-children, he fell asleep in Jesus, and entered into the joy of his Lord, at the advanced age of eighty three years, in the year 1707. The hope, expressed with his dying lips, that the Brethren's Church would speedily be revived, began to receive its accomplishment fifteen years after his death, by the arrival of his lineal descendants and other emigrants from Moravia, at the place now called HERRNHUT.

# PART II.

# HISTORY

OF THE

# PROTESTANT CHURCH

OF THE

# UNITED BRETHREN.

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**PART II.**

Containing an Account of its Revival in Saxony, and its gradual Extension into other Countries, during the first Century since the Renewal of its Constitution.

# CHAP. I.

FROM THE REVIVAL OF THE CHURCH TO THE ORDINATION OF THE FIRST BISHOP. FROM THE YEAR 1722 TO 1736.

## SECTION I.

*Arrival of the first Emigrants*—CHRISTIAN DAVID—*Beginning of the building of* HERRNHUT.

"GOD CALLETH THOSE THINGS WHICH BE NOT, AS THOUGH THEY WERE." (Rom. iv. 17.) "God, who is wonderful in all his works and ways, frequently makes use of instruments, in themselves unfit, and in the eyes of the world mean and despicable, to accomplish great and glorious things, thereby to magnify his name and display his sovereign power, wisdom and grace. And this, God generally does in a gradual manner, and by various preparations, and a regular succession of cause and effect, till his work is finished and his design fully developed, in order to bring man to the knowledge of his name and will, and to faith in him. Such a beginning the Lord our God hath made in our day with us, poor, sinful and mean people, who are despised by the world. He hath thereby shewn that he is our gracious God and Father in Christ Jesus, whose aim it is to make us his obedient children, and take us to be his people, having brought us from the gates of death unto the gates of the daughter of Zion. Now therefore we may rejoice in *his* help,

be strong and confident in *him*, and gratefully exclaim: '*The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad*!"

In these strains of pious admiration and gratitude did one of the principal agents,* employed by God in reviving the Brethren's Church, express the devout feelings of his heart, a few years after the first emigrants from Moravia, and descendants of the ancient Church, had been collected and colonized at Herrnhut. The truth of his remarks is exemplified and confirmed in every circumstance, connected with the revival, extension and continuance of the renewed Church of the Brethren for the space of ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

These remarks therefore in a very appropriate manner, introduce the reader to the second part of our work.

AFTER the total loss of religious liberty in Bohemia and Moravia, the members of the Brethren's Church, who had not emigrated into Protestant States, by degrees submitted to the reigning superstition. Even those who could not conscientiously embrace the unscriptural system of the national faith, lost the vitality of religion, and for the most part satisfied themselves with a theoretical knowledge of evangelic truth, and rectitude of external deportment. But God, "who knoweth them that are his," was graciously pleased to awaken in the posterity of the ancient Brethren, a new and ardent desire to know, and love and worship Him, not in the letter only, but in spirit and in truth, and entirely to disenthral themselves from the fetters of spiritual bondage. This awakening commenced about the year 1715, and its first powerful influence was felt in the family of George Jaeschke, mentioned in the former part of this history.† Like a fire from the Lord it soon spread, so that the number of sincere inquirers after divine truth was fast increasing.

While new life was thus communicated to the faithful remnant in Moravia, the Holy Spirit breathed at the same time upon the dry bones in Bohemia. So that, while the descendants of the Moravian Brethren, in Fulnek and the adjacent villages,

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* Christian David. See his letter of October 20th, 1731, to his friends in Switzerland.

† See p. 152.

were stirred up to seek the Lord and his salvation, their Bohemian fellow-confessors in Leutmischel and Landsrcone, were inflamed with the same desire, and this without previous concert, or any communication with each other. In the renewal of the Brethren's Church both these branches were gradually united, the Moravian Brethren taking the lead in the emigration.

The instrument, employed by God for fanning the latent fire among the posterity of the Brethren in Moravia, was, in the first instance, a discharged soldier from Silesia, who circulated several evangelical books among them, and introduced them to the Lutheran clergyman at Teschen on the Silesian frontiers. They frequently attended his sermons, though they had to go a distance of more than thirty English miles. His zealous testimony of the gospel, together with the perusal of evangelical publications, led them to a clearer knowledge of divine truth; but they were still defective in love to Jesus, and thus wanted the main spring of true piety. To promote this, God had prepared another instrument in one of their own countrymen, Christian David; and as he was a principal mover in their emigration, we shall here insert a few biographical notices of his early life.

Christian David was born in the village of Senftleben in Moravia, on the last day of the year 1690. His parents being poor, he was in early youth employed in tending sheep, and afterwards learned the trade of a carpenter. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, "and," to use his own expression, "in the performance of his devotions crept on his knees round the images of the blessed virgin, till his whole body burnt like an oven." At the same time he strongly felt the workings of sin, which plunged him into the deepest distress of soul, for he had no friend to shew him the right way, and, however frequent and earnest his penances and his invocation of saints, they yielded no comfort to his distracted mind.

While serving his apprenticeship at the neighbouring town of Holeschau he formed an acquaintance with some individuals who rejected image-worship, pilgrimages, and the whole system of popery as mere human traditions. These opinions could not remain long concealed, especially as their abettors met together for religious edification, and read forbidden books. They were se-

cured and confined in a cellar; but here they employed themselves day and night in praying and singing. Christian David was astonished at these things, but could not comprehend them. They, however, gave the first check to his superstition, which had been almost incredible.

In Holeschau he had also frequent intercourse with Jews, who had a synagogue in that town. Observing their zeal for the law of their fathers, new perplexities agitated his mind, and he was at a loss to determine, whether the Jews, or the Roman Catholics, or those cast into prison, possessed the true religion. He was then twenty years old, and had not yet seen a Bible; but hearing now that it was the Word of God, his desire to obtain one became very great. This desire was at length gratified, and he read in it during every leisure moment. At first his doubts and temptations were neither few nor weak; but the more diligently he read the Bible, and reflected on its contents, comparing the Old with the New Testament, the more was he convinced of its divine authority; the painful conflict between the flesh and the spirit yielded to the power of the Word of God, and his mind was filled with joy and peace in believing. Ever after the Holy Scriptures were the principal, and often, for many days, the *only* book he read. His mind, which had received but little scientific culture, was hereby furnished with a rich fund of spiritual knowledge, which he knew well how to apply when addressing his fellow-sinners on divine subjects, and which was signally blessed by God to the edification of many. This circumstance also gave a peculiarity to his style of speaking and writing, as his phraseology was almost purely biblical.

Being now fully convinced of the errors of popery, he resolved to join the Lutherans. To effect this he travelled into Hungary, where the Protestants had several congregations. But in one place his design was discovered by the priests, who threatened him with the stake; and in another, the Lutheran clergyman informed him, that he could not receive him, without subjecting himself to a heavy punishment. This determined him to go into Saxony; from whence he proceeded to Berlin. Here the Rev. Mr. Schmid, after previous instruction, admit-

ted him to the Lord's Supper in the Lutheran Church. Observing that the generality of Lutherans led very careless and even wicked lives, and that any individual, earnestly seeking the salvation of his soul, was exposed to taunts and reproach; he resolved to enlist as a soldier, fancying he would have more leisure in that state to attend to spiritual things. Being from the place of his nativity a subject of the Emperor, his offer was at first rejected, but at his repeated and earnest solicitations, he was at length enlisted in the waggon-train, and was present at the siege of Stralsund. His hopes, however, were again disappointed; his discharge, therefore, was not unwelcome.

He now fixed his abode in Breslau and afterwards in Schweidnitz, following his trade as a carpenter. During this period he was more than once restored from heavy and dangerous illnesses, and finding that even in Silesia he was not safe from the persecutions of the Jesuits, he went in the year 1717, to Goerlitz in Upper Lusatia Here he became acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer and the Rev. Mr. Schwedler, two zealous evangelical clergymen, whose sermons, together with his intercourse with other pious people, were made a means of blessing to his soul. He married a pious young woman of Mr. Schwedler's congregation, by whom he had five children, who all died in early youth. Their domestic arrangements were rather singular. The health of his wife being very delicate, she was mostly confined to the house, and managed the concerns of the family; while he, following the impulse of his heart, which he firmly believed to be an intimation from God, made frequent journies into Moravia, in order to instruct his countrymen in the doctrines of the gospel, which had conveyed true peace and comfort to his own soul.

In 1717, he paid his first visit to his native village, where he soon became acquainted with the family of the Neissers.* On one occasion he explained to them the words of the Apostle: "Knowing this that the trying of your faith worketh patience; but let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing. If any of you lack

* They were grandsons of George Jaeschke. See p. 152.

wisdom, let him ask of God," &c.* They were astonished at his discourse, the more so as they knew him to be an illiterate man. His words penetrated their souls and disclosed to them the deceitfulness of their hearts. This made them desirous of obtaining more light; and as they beheld nothing but darkness around them, they entreated him to look out for a place where they might settle; for they fancied *all* Protestants were like him.

He repeated his visit in little more than a year, having just recovered from a dangerous illness, during which he had experienced much kindness from Christian friends, who, according to his own words, "had treated him with parental affection." Of this he gave his acquaintance in Moravia a full account, testifying the mercy which God had shewn to his soul, and explaining to them the words of our Saviour: "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life."† This address increased their desire to emigrate, for where they then lived they saw nothing but misery before them, being forced to the observance of many superstitious rites, which were contrary to the Word of God and against their consciences. Their minds were in consequence kept in a state of continual disquietude.

However, as they could not immediately effect their emigration, Christian David advised them to attend divine service in the Lutheran church at Teschen. The Incumbent at that time was the Rev. John Adam Stinmez. He and his two colleagues, Muthman and Sassadius, preached with great power, enforcing the necessity of true conversion of heart. Their auditories were uncommonly large. No less than forty thousand Germans, and thirty thousand Poles, belonged to the congregation, and many Moravians, residing in the frontier towns, occasionally attended their ministry. To these clergymen the Neissers discovered their desire to emigrate; but they advised them against it, alledging, that they would every where find great corruption and many hindrances to conversion, true Christians being always persecuted by the

* James i. 3—5. † Matt. xix. 29.

the world. This threw them into great perplexity, not knowing what to do. But while they were laying their distress before the Lord in fervent prayer, and intreating his help, he was preparing the way for their complete emancipation from spiritual thraldom.

Christian David, after several fruitless attempts to find an asylum for his oppressed countrymen, was at length providentially directed to apply to count Zinzendorf, of whom more will be said in the next section. After minute enquiry into the circumstances of these people, the count promised that if they emigrated he would use his interest for them, and in the meantime receive them on his estate, *Bertholsdorf*, not far from Goerlitz. Encouraged by this promise, Christian David hastened to Moravia, and arrived at Sehlen on Whit Monday, 1722.

No sooner had he informed the two brothers, Augustin and Jacob Neisser, of the count's promise, than they resolved to forsake all and emigrate, "for," said they, "this is God's doing; this comes from the Lord."

Their three brothers could not immediately resolve to follow them. To avoid all precipitancy in so important an undertaking, they mutually agreed, that Jacob and Augustin should go first, and if God prospered them in the way the rest should follow. The step they were going to take, required not a little decision and fortiude. They were obliged to leave house and home, an extensive business, and no inconsiderable property, and separate themselves from a large circle of friends and relations, to whom they durst not say a word of their intention, lest they should be betrayed. The situation of their mother, from whom they could not conceal it, proved the severest trial. She fell into repeated fits of fainting, which so affected them, that they had scarcely power to abide by their resolution; but they betook themselves to earnest prayer, and by the help of God at last pacified her.

They now remembered their cousin, Michael Jaeschke, and the spiritual danger to which he would be exposed, if left behind. Calling to mind also the farewell address of their grandfather, and the hope he had expressed, which now seemed likely to be realized, and the promise they had given him,* they determined, notwithstanding their secret fears

* See p. 153.

lest he should betray them, to clear their own consciences and disclose their purpose to him. They, therefore, sent for him, entered into religious discourse, and finding him in great distress of soul, Jacob reminded him of the last words of his dying father, adding: "The time is *now* come; I and my family are about to emigrate, that we may save our souls before it be too late. My brother Augustin and I are fully determined to leave all and go to a place which God himself has appointed. If *you* are so disposed, you may do the same; we will take you with us, as we promised your father, that your soul may be saved." Michael could scarcely articulate for joy, his soul being filled with gratitude to God for so wonderful a proof of his providence. At length he broke silence and exclaimed: "Assuredly I will! What! are *you* emigrating, and shall *I* remain here? I will certainly go with you; I have long wished to do so as well as you, but saw no means of effecting it." Hereupon his cousins enjoined strict silence, advising him to engage in his business the next day as usual, and come to their house between 9 and 10 o'clock at night.

At the appointed time Michael arrived, and they all assembled in Jacob Neisser's house. The company consisted of the following persons: Augustin and Jacob Neisser, their wives and four children, (viz. a boy of six years, a girl of three, and twins only twelve weeks old,) their cousin Michael Jaeschke, eighteen years of age, and a young woman, Martha Neisser, Augustin's wife's sister. Soon after 10 o'clock at night on Wednesday after Whit-Sunday, 1722, they commenced their pilgrimage, conducted by Christian David, who led them through unfrequented paths across the mountains to the frontiers of Silesia. Owing to the little children in their company, their emigration was attended with many difficulties, but being conducted with great secrecy and prudence, they met with no further impediments by the way, and arrived safely the following day at Nieder Wiese, the first Protestant town. The parish minister, Mr Schwedler, welcomed them with great cordiality, entertained them hospitably, and, having commended them to God's blessing, they pursued their journey to Goerlitz, where the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer received them in a similar manner.

Leaving their families in Goerlitz, the two Neissers and Christian David proceeded to the estate of count Zinzendorf, furnished with a letter of recommendation to Mr. Marche, tutor in the family of the count's grandmother, the lady von Gersdorf, who resided at Hennersdorf. The count being in Dresden, Mr. Marche waited on her ladyship, who, at first, shewed considerable reluctance to receive the emigrants, having often been imposed upon by poor and unprincipled people. But Mr. Marche advocated their cause so effectually, that the countess, who was of a mild and benevolent disposition, readily yielded to his wishes; and resolved that the emigrants should be provided for at Bertholsdorf, a village about two English miles from Hennersdorf, and of which count Zinzendorf was the proprietor. To this village the Moravians were sent, being recommended by Mr. Rothe* to Mr. Heitz, steward to count Zinzendorf.† By him they were provided with a temporary residence in an empty house in Bertholsdorf.

As neither lady von Gersdorf, nor Mr. Marche and Mr. Heitz, approved of their intention to build *in the village*, but rather advised building in some spot where they might form a colony of their own, it was left to Mr. Heitz to fix on a suitable situation. There are two hills on the estate of Bertholsdorf, either of which appeared suitable. The one, called *Hutberg*, lies to the left of the road from Hennersdorf to Bertholsdorf, the main road passing over it; but there was then a want of good water in that place. The other hill, beyond the village of Bertholsdorf, is plentifully supplied with water, but as there was then no direct line of communication to it, Mr. Heitz rejected it. Mr. Marche and Christian David agreed with him in opinion as to its unsuitableness for a settlement. Mr. Heitz sent a full account of these proceedings to count Zinzendorf, from which, as it strikingly exhibits the spirit and piety of that gentleman, a few extracts are here inserted.

* Mr. Rothe resided then at Leube, as tutor in a gentleman's family, but had received a vocation as minister of Bertholsdorf.

† Mr. Heitz was a native of Zurich and a member of the Reformed, (or Calvinistic,) church in Switzerland. He was a man, who, besides the knowledge requisite for the faithful discharge of the trust committed to him, was endowed with a liberal mind and true piety.

"Early in the morning, before sunrise, I went to the Hutberg, to observe the exhalation of vapours. I repeated this the next morning, the weather being on both occasions uncommonly fine. The observations I made satisfied me that water might be procured. I now took courage; there was not a person near me; I knelt down and most fervently prayed to God for help. I represented to him the misery of the poor exiles, and their eagerness to obtain an asylum; and besought him, that the good hand of the Lord might be upon me, and prevent me doing any thing displeasing to *Him*. I added, '*On this spot I will, in thy name, build for them the first house.*'

"I now brought the emigrants to the place, and informed them of my design: but it did not by any means accord with their wishes. The same day I took Mr. Marche to see the place, pointing out to him, how, in time, a regular square might be laid out and inclosed, in the middle of which a well might be dug, &c. This pleased him, and both he and Christian David, who was present, began to prophecy about the place. Mr. Marche chose a spot for the erection of an orphan-house,* where the emigrants would be his nearest neighbours."

The place chosen for building was on the declivity of the Hutberg, on the high-road from Loebau to Zittau. It was then a dreary wilderness, covered with forest-trees and bushes, and the ground a complete swamp, with not a human habitation in the neighbourhood. The objection of Augustin Neisser's wife, therefore, was well founded, who exclaimed: "Whence shall we get bread in this desert?" But she was silenced by Mr. Marche, who in a tone of firm confidence replied: "If thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God." Christian David, full of faith and courage, striking his axe into a tree, repeated the words of the Psalmist: "Here, the sparrow has found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God." Ps. lxxxiv. 3.

* On a ride, which Mr. Marche took with count Zinzendorf in 1717, they passed by this place. Being engaged in a conversation about the excellent orphan-house founded by the celebrated Mr. Franke, in Halle, Mr. Marche said to the count; "on this spot your Lordship may erect a similar institution, when you are put in possession of the estate."

On the 17th of June, 1722, the first tree was felled* for the building of the first house of the new settlement. Amidst great poverty and many difficulties, and exposed to the taunts of travellers, the Moravian emigrants continued their work in faith and hope, and by the end of October had so far finished their building that it could be inhabited. Mr. Heitz, who all along had cherished the opinion, that the undertaking was a divine work, determined that it should be solemnly dedicated to God. A day being appointed for this, he read the 21st chapter of the Revelation of St. John, and delivered a discourse, in which he considered the glory of the city (the new Jerusalem,) and the holiness and happiness of its inhabitants, applying the subject to the erection of the new settlement, deducing several inferences for doctrine, exhortation and comfort. He concluded his address with fervent prayer, that Jehovah would erect his tabernacle, and dwell in that place, and shower down upon its inhabitants the blessings promised to his Church. Christian David added another earnest prayer. All present were greatly affected, and the solemnity was concluded with the singing of a hymn.† The name of HERRNHUT was given to the new settlement by Mr. Heitz, before the first house was erected, in a communication he made to count Zinzendorf, wherein he says: "We have called this place HERRNHUT, to remind us, on the one hand, that the Lord is our protector and keeper,‡ and on the other, that it is our duty to stand in the watch-tower and keep ward."‖

* On the spot where this tree stood a stone monument has since been erected, perpetuating the event.

† This hymn may be found in the Hymn-book, published at Halle, Part I. page 852, and begins thus: Jerusalem du Gottesstadt. It was well suited to the occasion, reminding those present of the ruin of the ancient Brethren's Church, and inspiring them with hopes of its revival.

‡ Psal. cxxi. 4.

‖ Isai. xxi. 8. In the above extract there is an allusion to the meaning of the name Herrnhut, which has a double signification, and may be translated, either *the object of the Lord's protection*, or, *the watch of the Lord*, the place where his servants stand waiting to receive, and ready to execute *his* commands. To this twofold meaning of the word, Christian David alludes in the following passage: "This place shall be called the WATCH OF THE LORD, *(die Hut des Herrn)*, and you,

While the builders of Herrnhut rejoiced in what the Lord had done for them, and confidently anticipated future and greater blessings; their neighbours derided the undertaking, and scornfully remarked, that though the house had been finished, it could not stand. "They became more lavish of their taunts," says Mr. Heitz, "when I began digging the well. Having employed two labourers for fourteen days without any success, there being as yet no sign of water, I found it difficult to prevail on them to continue the work. At length they consented, on my promise that if they did not succeed in two or three days, I would give them other employment. After this, on the second day, appearances were favourable, and the next day there was a plentiful supply of water."

A successful beginning was thus made with the building of Herrnhut. Count Zinzendorf, who was then at Ebersdorf, received the first intelligence of it through the Rev. Mr. Rothe, who transmitted to him a letter from the three Moravian emigrants, Christian David, Augustin Neisser and Jacob Neisser, in which they commend themselves to his favor and patronage. Returning towards the end of the year to his estate in Upper Lusatia, the count, in travelling through the wood, observed the new built house. Being informed that it was inhabited by the Moravian exiles, he alighted from his carriage, went in and welcomed them with much cordiality. Having knelt down and with much fervour implored the blessing of God, he encouraged them confidently to rely on the grace and faithfulness of the Lord.

On a review of the circumstances now related, it is impossible not to discern the hand of God in the whole undertaking. It was truly a work purely of faith, to lay the foundation of a new colony in a place, which then appeared far more likely to become the haunt of a gang of thieves, than the residence of a Christian society. But God gave them courage and strengthened their feeble faith, having wise purposes in view by di-

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who dwell here, must watch day and night, and see to it, that the work of grace, here begun, be uninterruptedly continued. May God grant that this place may exist no longer than while the work of God's grace remains the principal object of its inhabitants.

recting their separation from the inhabitants of the village. Of *his* design it was indeed impossible for them to form any distinct idea, yet that their minds were more or less impressed with a belief, that God would in some way or other signally display his power and grace in and by them, is evident from facts already related, and to these may be added one or two more.

While the house was building, baron von Gersdorf, a relation of count Zinzendorf, paid a visit to Mr. Heitz, who, accompanied by Mr. Marche, conducted the baron to the building-ground. Having seated themselves on some of the timber, Christian David pointed out the streets, with their houses, which, in process of time, might and would be laid out. This appeared so exceedingly improbable, that the baron observed, God must act in a very wonderful manner indeed, if it were ever realized. Yet he confessed that his incredulity was considerably shaken, by the tone of firm confidence, in which Mr. Marche insisted on his opinion, that God would certainly display his glory in this place. Not less singular was the opinion delivered by the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer of Goerlitz, in a sermon preached on August 22d, 1722, at Bertholsdorf, by occasion of the induction of the Rev. Mr. Rothe as minister of that parish. With great emphasis he delivered the following sentence: "*God will place a light on these hills, which will illumine the whole land; of this I am assured by living faith.*"

Whatever may be thought of these circumstances, it is hardly probable, that either the Moravian exiles, or their friends, could have proceeded with so much alacrity and courage in an undertaking attended with almost insurmountable difficulties, if they had not been supported by an inward conviction that it was right in the sight of the Lord. And no Christian viewing the whole transaction in connection with its consequences, can refuse gratefully to acknowledge, that the work was of God. He overruled the whole proceeding even in its minuter details, of which the pious reader will find many proofs in the subsequent part of this history. One fact is self-evident. Had the builders of Herrnhut consulted only their temporal advantage, they would never have chosen the situation for the new settlement in a place, which was perhaps the most forbidding in

the whole neighbourhood. Yet this very isolated situation of the settlement, afforded facilities to the Brethren for reviving and organizing their Church, which under the existing civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Germany, they could not have enjoyed, had they settled within the precincts of Bertholsdorf, or any other town.

## SECTION II.

*Biographical Notices of* Count Zinzendorf, Baron Von Watteville, *the* Rev. Mr. Rothe, *and others, who were mainly instrumental in renewing the Brethren's Church.*

Before we continue the narrative of Herrnhut and its first inhabitants, it seems proper to give the reader some information of the principal agents, whom God employed as instruments for developing and advancing his designs with the renewed Church of the Brethren.

Among these, count Zinzendorf, for many reasons, deserves to be first mentioned. He was descended from a very ancient noble family, which as early as the eleventh century ranked among the barons of Germany, and in 1662, was raised to the rank and title of count of the holy Roman empire, having very considerable possessions in Austria and other parts of Germany. At the time of the Reformation the family embraced Protestantism, and became its zealous promoters; and four Protestant congregations were collected and provided with ministers on their estates. While the Protestants enjoyed religious liberty, several members of the family held high offices, both civil and military, under the house of Austria. After the abolition of religious liberty, the grandfather of our count, Maximilian Erasmus, left Austria, with the loss of all his possessions in that country, retired into Franconia, and settled on an estate near Nurnberg. His two sons went into Saxony, and filled several high offices under the Electoral government.

The elder of these sons, George Louis, prime minister of Saxony, was the father of our count. He was a man of considerable talents and sincere piety, and a warm friend and patron of all who were engaged in advancing the interests of true

religion. He was twice married. His second union was with Charlotte Justina, baroness von Gersdorf, a pious and learned lady, and the mother of Nicholas Lewis count Zinzendorf. He was born at Dresden, on the 26th of May, 1700. Six weeks after his birth he lost his father, who died in the prime of life, (his second marriage having lasted only one year,) and while he was honourably filling several important offices in the state, being no less esteemed at court, than loved by the pious of every rank. Perceiving his end approaching, the nurse brought his infant son, sleeping in her arms, to his bedside, to receive his farewell paternal blessing. On seeing him, the dying father said: "My dear son, they ask me to bless you, but you are more blessed than I am; though even now I feel as if I were already standing before the throne of Jesus."

This bereavement had considerable influence on the future life of the young count. His mother having married again, when he was in his fourth year, he had but little intercourse with her, the entire care of his education devolving on his maternal grandmother, Henrietta Catharina von Gersdorf, who took him to her estate at Hennersdorf, where she resided ever since her husband's death in 1702. She was a pious and very learned lady, read the Bible in the original languages, composed German and Latin poetry, possessed considerable knowledge of the fine arts and sciences, and kept up an extensive correspondence with the most celebrated characters for learning and piety, especially those who laboured to promote a reformation in the Protestant church; for at that time evangelical religion, both in doctrine and practice, was fast declining on the continent. Her daughter, Henrietta, who lived with her, possessed many of the amiable qualities and intellectual endowments of her mother. Under the direction of these two ladies, with the assistance of properly qualified tutors, count Zinzendorf received his first instructions, and early imbibed that thirst for vital piety, and that taste for literature, which were afterwards successfully cultivated, and, by the divine blessing, distinguished him as an eminent scholar, and a devoted servant of God.

At the age of ten years, he was sent to the academy at Halle,

under the direction of the justly celebrated professor Franke. His residence in this place, while it increased his knowledge of literature, served also to establish his religious principles. Concerning this he thus expresses himself: "The opportunity which I daily enjoy in the house of professor Franke, to hear edifying accounts of the kingdom of Christ, to converse with witnesses of his truth from different countries, to become acquainted with missionaries, and see exiles and prisoners for the gospel's sake; together with the observation I am constantly making of the cheerful activity of this excellent man in the work of the Lord; the prosperity of the various institutions founded by him, and the heavy trials he has to encounter—these things have mightily strengthened my zeal in the Lord's cause, and given me some insight into the advantages of true piety, and the impediments to its progress. More especially my mind was so deeply imbued with a cheerful readiness supported by faith, to suffer the bereavement of earthly comforts, and to be content with poverty, that the time and occasion which elicited these perceptions, have remained indelibly imprinted on my memory."

Several young gentlemen in the Academy were associated with the count in the exercises of piety, and with a select number of these youths, he formed an Order, called the *Order of the grain of mustard-seed.* The fundamental rules of this order were; that its members should steadfastly maintain the doctrine of Jesus, and walk worthily of it, exercise charity towards their neighbours, and more especially endeavour to promote the conversion of Jews and Heathen.

These evidences of more than usual piety, particularly in a young nobleman, whom his friends had destined for worldly honours, displeased many of his relations, especially his uncle, who entertained no very favourable opinion of the Pietists* in Halle. To remove the count from their influence, he was in his seventeenth year sent to the University at Wittemberg. If

* This was a term of reproach, by which all those were designated, who, like professor Franke, inculcated the necessity of vital and practical religion. It was used in the same vague sense, in which the terms Evangelical, or Methodist, are applied in our day.

he had been allowed to follow his own inclination, he would have entered as a student of Divinity; but he submitted to the wishes of his uncle and other friends, and applied himself to the study of the law. His diligence was unremitting, and he even delivered lectures to some young men on the civil law. In his private intercourse, however, he chiefly sought the company of the divinity professors. Between them and the theologians of Halle a very warm controversy was at that time carried on. The count was strongly attached to his first teachers and their opinions; he, however, had sufficient penetration to perceive, that the truth was not entirely confined to either party, and that misunderstandings and prejudices had alienated those, who in reality had the same important object in view. He offered himself as mediator, and his offer was accepted by both sides; and though unexpected impediments were thrown in the way of a meeting, yet the confidence reposed in him reflects honour on the count, especially when it is considered, that he was a youth of but seventeen years of age; and the persons who were ready to accept his mediation, were some of the most learned divines of the age, professor Franke of Halle, and Doctor Wernsdorf of Wittemberg. To the count himself this occurrence proved of much advantage. It gave him a clearer insight into human nature; it discovered some of the many evils arising from misconception, error and contradiction, and taught him the importance of truth.

After spending about two years at the university in Wittemberg, he entered upon his travels, visited Holland, Switzerland and France, and remained a considerable time at Paris. Every where he formed acquaintance with persons of rank and learning,especially with such,in whom he thought he discovered real piety and reverence for the Word of God. The diary kept by him during his travels, contains many useful and instructive observations. It displays the character of a truly devoted servant of God, who from the heart loved his Lord and Saviour, and was by his grace preserved from the allurements of the world; it discloses his zeal ever intent on doing good to his neighbour, and improving his acquaintance and intercourse with persons of every rank for directing their attention to the

truth and importance of religion; and it exhibits a noble originality, not often found in young men, possessed like him of more than usual vivacity.

At the termination of his minority, in 1721, he was brought into a situation of untried difficulty. It became necessary for him, to choose some profession, or employment, for his future life. Contrary to his own inclination, but in compliance with the wishes of his relatives, he accepted a situation in the government of Saxony, and towards the end of October fixed his residence in Dresden. His rank, talents, and noble character, procured for him the external tokens of respect; but the frankness with which in the discharge of his official duties, he censured the immoralities even of persons of distinction, was displeasing to many. In his own house he held meetings for edification, and employed his leisure hours in writing a periodical work, which was published weekly under the title of the *German Socrates*. In this work he attacks, with youthful warmth and considerable talent, the prejudices and immoralities of his fellow-citizens. That a young nobleman, in a high official situation, should hold religious meetings in his own house, and be the author of a periodical work, like the German Socrates, was so novel a thing, that he could not expect much favour either at court, or among the inhabitants of a metropolis, famous for wealth and luxury.

This, however, did not divert him from his purpose. Constrained by the love of Christ, which had powerfully drawn the affections of his heart to his crucified Saviour, he had in early youth resolved to make the advancement of *his* glory the sole object of his ambition. That resolution had matured with age and experience, and made him willing to bend all his energies towards its attainment, equally disregarding the world's applause or censure. He was now for the first time in his life, placed in a sphere of extensive influence; and though it did not in all respects accord with his wishes, he determined to improve it to the utmost of his abilities, for promoting the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom. In reference to this subject he wrote: "The way and manner in which God proceeds to accomplish his work in the world, is not fettered by such laws as men are

apt to impose. We may indeed preserve our worldly honour, and indulge our ease, if we aim at nothing more than a negligent and indolent service; but the extension of God's kingdom in an effectual manner has never been promoted by supineness and procrastination. Those who have courageously put their shoulders to the work, and openly attacked the kingdom of Satan, have not on that account lost their lives, and the cause of God has conquered. But those, who to save themselves, have endeavoured to propagate their opinions, as it were, by stealth, have often endangered their lives, brought reproach on themselves, and effected nothing.—I know that Christ is the Lord of the universe, and that he has a kingdom which must be extended by those, who are not themselves the Light; but who bear witness of the Light. I belong to the number of those, whom the Lord hath called from darkness to light; and therefore I must bear witness of the Light. I am called one of the honorable of the world, and as such I enjoy certain prerogatives; and this increases my obligation to bear witness of the Light."

The official situation of count Zinzendorf afforded him many opportunities for gratifying his strong desire of promoting the extension of Christ's kingdom; yet these opportunities did not exactly comport with the wishes of his heart: he longed for a different sphere of usefulness, in which he might more unreservedly devote all his talents to this important object, and be less subject to those abstractions of the mind in the pursuit of it, which were unavoidably connected with the punctual discharge of his duties as a minister of state. Such a sphere of usefulness, Divine Providence was preparing for him by the erection of Herrnhut. Here, however, it is necessary to obviate a misconception, which might be, and indeed has been, entertained by some, as if the building of Herrnhut and its subsequent regulations, had been the effect of a pre-concerted plan. The arrival of the first Moravian emigrants, and their subsequent settlement on his estate of Bertholsdorf, to which Herrnhut belongs, took place during his absence, and almost without his knowledge; and according to his own declaration, his only object was to provide an asylum for these oppressed people,

hoping that, by their pious example, they might be uesful to his other tenants. Several years elapsed before he fully consented to those measures, by which the ancient Church of the Brethren was revived and re-organized at Herrnhut; which made him repeatedly assert, that the work was not *his*; but that it was indeed *the work of God.*

In 1722, he entered into holy matrimony with countess Erdmuth Dorothy Reuss, and ten years after resigned his office in the regency of Saxony, and with it every expectation of riches and worldly honours, devoting all his time, talents and influence, to the service of God, in advancing his kingdom in the world. From this period the principal incidents of his life are so intimately connected with the history of the Brethren's Church, as to render them sufficiently prominent in the sequel of this narrative, without any additional notices in this place.

Baron Frederic von Watteville was another distinguished instrument in the hand of God in reviving the Brethren's Church. He had been a fellow-student of count Zinzendorf, and similarity of disposition had cemented them in the closest bonds of friendship. He was one of those young gentlemen, who, at the academy in Halle, had formed an association for promoting the cause of God in the world.* His subsequent situation, however, had not been very favourable for keeping alive this pious zeal. After leaving the academy, he had mostly resided in Paris, and mixed much with the gay and fashionable world. He had moreover engaged deeply in philosophical speculations, and thereby nearly made shipwreck of his Christian faith.

In 1722, he paid a visit to the friend of his youth, count Zinzendorf, and in his company went to Hennersdorf and Bertholsdorf. This visit was the means made use of by God, to discover to him the fallacy of his present opinions. He was brought into such mental darkness, that he almost doubted the existence of a God and his government of the world During this internal conflict, the meetings for edification, held in the house of lady von Gersdorf, but still more his intercourse with the honourable Miss Joanna Sophia von Zezschwitz, whom he afterwards married, afforded some solace to his distracted mind.

* See p. 174.

The artless simplicity, with which she declared to him the love of God, in giving his only begotten Son to die for sinners, and that *whosoever* believeth in him need not perish, but may have eternal life; and her representations of the pity of Jesus for those who are ready to perish, touched his heart. Count Zinzendorf likewise endeavoured to comfort his distressed friend; and by the blessing of God, these endeavours proved successful; and that sentence, GOD IS LOVE, (1 John iv. 16,) was at length so powerfully impressed on his mind, and conveyed such comfort to his soul, that he felt assured he had "passed from death into life."

Not long after an occurrence took place, which had considerable influence in confirming his faith in God. On March 15th, 1723, he was arrested in a most unexpected manner. An officer arrived at Hennersdorf with a troop of cavalry, took Watteville prisoner, and conveyed him to Dresden. He was kept in confinement for six weeks, and closely guarded, without being able to conjecture the cause of this unaccountable proceeding. At length, however, it was unravelled. A horrid murder had been committed by a Swedish lieutenant-colonel, Koch von Gueldenstein, formerly Polish ambassador, but then employed by the government at Dresden. Baron Watteville had accidentally become acquainted with him. He had assumed the garb of piety, attended the religious meetings held by count Zinzendorf, and commenced a correspondence with him and Watteville. At the very time when the murder became known, a letter, addressed to him by Watteville, was intercepted, in which the latter wished him success to his undertaking. This had excited suspicion. On the trial, however, when the letter was shewn to Watteville, he gave so clear and satisfactory a statement of the whole circumstance, as far as concerned himself, that he was instantly set at liberty. This occurrence so rivetted the conviction, previously wrought on his mind, of the miserable life of the votaries of the world, that he preferred the condition of the meanest follower of Christ to the pageantry of worldlings, however imposing to the unrenewed heart. Most gladly, therefore, did he join count Zinzendorf, and continue his faithful coadjutor in those works of benevolence and piety, which he had just commenced.

A writer, who had sufficient means of knowing and appreciating Watteville's character, delineates it in the following sketch: "He possessed a noble mind, great energy of soul, persevering activity, and peculiar suavity of manners. In his intercourse with others, he was condescending, affable, and affectionate; a true philanthropist, who was sure to gain the confidence even of the most distrustful. He constantly aimed at discovering the latent good qualities of every individual with whom he was conversant; and though his taste and manners had received a very high polish, he derived peculiar gratification from intercourse with persons in the humbler walks of life, in whom he discerned real worth."*

With these two noble personages were associated, in their endeavours to advance the kingdom of Christ, the Rev. Messrs. Schaeffer and Rothe. The former of these clergymen was stationed in the town of Goerlitz, where his faithful testimony of the gospel had subjected him to shame and reproach. Mr. Rothe had introduced him to count Zinzendorf, and this acquaintance was the means of stimulating him to renewed and greater exertions in the cause of Christ. With undaunted courage he exposed the fallacy of the doctrine of good works as procuring salvation, and the mere form of godliness without the power thereof, which then so generally prevailed in nominal Christendom. His language was plain and unadorned; in argument and discussion, he accommodated himself to the meanest capacity, and his delivery was impressive and serious, suited to the awful import of the divine message he announced, and calculated to strike the most careless. Without making any alterations in the prescribed mode of performing divine worship, he faithfully cautioned his hearers against its abuse. Besides his public ministrations he held private meetings in his own house. At these meetings he permitted any one to ask questions concerning such subjects, discussed in his public sermons, as had not been fully understood, and to request further elucidation. Being severely reprimanded for holding *private* meetings, he transferred them from his house to the church.

The Rev. John Andrew Rothe was another distinguished

* Duvernoy's Life of Zinzendorf, p. 17.

instrument in the hand of God, who by his superior talents and pious zeal acted a prominent part in advancing the work happily begun at Herrnhut. Having finished his studies at the university of Leipzig, he felt some conscientious scruples against accepting a clerical office, and spent several years in comparative retirement, being chiefly engaged in the instruction of youth. During his residence in Goerlitz he frequently preached in the church of the holy Trinity. His talents as a public speaker procured him a crowded auditory; and his sermons were by the divine blessing made useful to many. He had become known to count Zinzendorf while he was private tutor in a nobleman's family at Leube. Immediately after the count had purchased the estate of Bertholsdorf, the living, which was in his gift, had become vacant. Fully satisfied of the piety and all other requisite qualifications of Mr. Rothe, he appointed him minister of that parish. The following extracts from the letter of vocation, dated May 19th, 1722, will show the responsibility the count attached to his office as patron, and the expectations he formed of the man, whom he entrusted with the care of souls. "Go then, and work in the vineyard of the Lord. He sends you forth into his harvest; you are a messenger of good tidings. Go in the peace of the Lord; feed the flock of Christ; feed the sheep of Christ and his lambs. Say to the righteous, that it shall be well with him. Make plain his paths to the praise of God. Cry aloud; spare not. Point out the Lamb of God to your hearers, and direct them to Him. You believe; therefore speak. If your sufferings abound in Christ, you know your consolation also aboundeth by Christ. In me you shall find, rather a faithful coadjutor and loving brother than a patron. Though weak and feeble in myself, I will help you in sustaining the conflict, through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. Enter on your labours; turn the wilderness into a lovely tabernacle of God; and approve yourself on all occasions as a faithful shepherd; then when the chief Shepherd shall appear, you shall receive an unfading crown. This may the holy triune Jehovah grant. But take heed to yourself, that you may with joy resign the trust committed to you, at the tribunal of the Lord; and meanwhile assist me in my

labours: and I on my part will faithfully co-operate with you."

Mr. Rothe accepted the vocation, and continued in that situation for fifteen years, performing his parochial duties with uncommon zeal and success. Various circumstances, which it is needless to particularize, induced him to leave Bertholsdorf and accept another situation, in 1739. The following sketch drawn by count Zinzendorf, will give the reader some idea of the character of this eminent servant of God.

"Mr. Rothe was possessed of sound and extensive learning, and a peculiar gift to impart knowledge to others. He was so completely master of his subject in all its bearings, that, though he preached extempore, his sermons contained a regular system of the doctrine he handled, and by his correctness and precision of language, were more like theological lectures, than popular addresses; yet he was never tedious. This was in some degree owing to his uncommonly rapid delivery, but is chiefly to be viewed as a gracious gift from God. He united in his person the talents of Luther, Spener, Frank, and Schwedler. His discourses were intelligible to the peasant, and sufficiently deep for the philosopher. His enemies admired him; and the Brethren felt and acknowledged his superior excellencies, even at a time when he had given them cause of dissatisfaction. And though God raised up many witnesses of his truth during the first twenty years, (since the building of Herrnhut,) and endowed them with apostolical gifts, yet not one among them can be compared to Rothe, especially during the period from 1723 to 1727. Whether he preached in his parish-church, or addressed the congregation at Herrnhut, the soundness of his doctrine, the variety of his illustrations, the perspecuity of his deductions, and above all, the blessing which accompanied his ministrations, were truly astonishing. It was as though it rained fire from heaven; and his most defective discourses exceeded in solidity of ideas and strength of argument the best performances of others."

## SECTION III.

*Continuation of the history.—Arrival of more Emigrants from* MORAVIA.

THE emigration of the Neissers exposed their relatives to heavy trials. They were required to discover the retreat of their brothers, and, refusing to do this, were thrown into prison. The severity with which they were treated, induced them, when set at liberty, to forsake all, and with their families, consisting of eighteen persons, to follow their brethren to Herrnhut, where they arrived in the spring of 1723, and were affectionately received.

Towards the close of the same year, Christian David, who, regardless of every danger, was never more in his element, than when he found an opportunity of assisting the posterity of the ancient Brethren in obtaining liberty of conscience, undertook another journey to Moravia, and visited several villages. His powerful testimony of the gospel, and the account he gave of the grace prevailing at Herrnhut, excited great sensation throughout the neighbourhood. By the searching discourses of two brothers, David and Melchior Nitschmann, the number of persons, who were sincerely seeking the salvation of their souls, rapidly increased. They assembled in several places, in companies of more than an hundred, and spent the greater part of the night in religious conversation and prayer. The concern to "seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness," became so general, that this subject formed almost the exclusive topic of discourse, wherever two or three met together. Shepherds in the fields joined in prayer and the singing of hymns labourers and servants, while performing their daily tasks, conversed on the same subject. Idle diversions and play-houses were forsaken. Even young children caught the holy flame, and entreated their parents to turn to the Lord Jesus, who thus "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings perfected praise." Neither threatening nor reproach could damp their zeal, or repress their praises to God for these days of divine visitation, in which they were so mightily excited to follow the faith of their forefathers.

It was not to be expected, that these proceedings would long be beheld with indifference by those, who hated the light of evangelical truth. The district in which this awakening principally took place, belonged to the Jesuits of Olmuetz. By their instigation, the civil power was employed to crush the rising cause of Christ. Religious meetings were peremptorily forbidden, and those who promoted or attended them, were cruelly persecuted.

Many were imprisoned; and as the gaols could not contain all, some were shut up in stables and offensive places; others were thrust into cellars and forced to stand in water, till they were nearly frozen to death; some were, during intense frost, confined at the top of the tower of the castle. By these cruelties their persecutors hoped to extort a confession, who among them possessed heretical books, and where they were concealed, where the meetings were held and who had attended them, and how often the field-preacher, (meaning Christian David) had visited them. Not a few were obliged to work as convicts and loaded with irons; some were kept in prison during their whole life, and others were condemned to pay heavy fines. This was particularly the case with the families of the Nitchmanns and Schneiders and others who were possessed of considerable property.

Sometimes, however, their enemies were restrained by a higher hand, from proceeding to the lengths they intended. Thus it once happened in Kunewalde, where the Brethren often met in large companies at each others' houses, for the purpose of edification, that a police officer, having entered the house of David Nitschmann, where more than one hundred and fifty were assembled, in his hurry seized all the books within his reach, but offered no other molestation, and then proceeded to another house for the same purpose. Fearing the people, he took a number of persons with him. When they entered the place of meeting, the Brethren began to sing, with loud voices, the following stanza of one of Luther's hymns.

"If the whole world with devils swarm'd,
That threaten'd us to swallow,

We will not fear, for we are arm'd,
And victory must follow:
We dare the devil's might,
His malice, craft, and spite;
Tho' he may us assail,
He never shall prevail;
The Word of God shall conquer."

The officer commanded silence; but they repeated the verse, which so confounded him, that he threw down the books he had collected, and ran out of the house. But on the following day, twenty persons, all heads of respectable families, were thrown into prison. This cruel treatment defeated its own object, as many were thereby induced to forsake their all and emigrate. Among those who sought an asylum in Herrnhut were many bold confessors of divine truth.

The first company consisted of five young men, who were genuine descendants of the Moravian Church, namely, three David Nitschmanns, John Toeltchig, and Melchior Zeisberger.* On the 1st of May, 1724, they were cited before the council, and commanded under pain of imprisonment to give up their religious meetings. Unwilling any longer to bear the iron yoke of spiritual thraldom, they left house and home the following night. Having passed through the village without being observed, they fell on their knees, and commended themselves and the friends they had left behind, to the care and protection of God. They then joined in singing the first part of a hymn, made by their ancestors, under similar circumstances, a hundred years ago, which begins thus:

"Bless'd be the day, when I must roam
Far from my country, friends and home,
An exile poor and mean;
My father's God will be my guide,
Will angel-guards for me provide,
My soul in dangers screen.
Himself will lead me to a spot,
Where, all my cares and griefs forgot,
I shall enjoy sweet rest.

* He was the father of David Zeisberger, who was upwards of sixty years a missionary among the Indians.

As pants for cooling streams the hart,
I languish for my heav'nly part,
For God, my refuge blest."

They now pursued an unfrequented path across the mountains, and after various hardships, hardly knowing which way to take, arrived on the 9th of May in Niederwiese, and were received with open arms by the Rev. Mr. Schwedler. He kneeled down with them and, according to his usual custom, repeated the Lord's prayer three times. He then asked them, whether they knew whose children and descendants they were; and, without waiting for an answer, began to relate the history of Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Amos Comenius, concluding with the following address:

"From the blood of these martyrs your Church has been produced. God hath answered their prayers, and the blessing of the fathers hath descended on their children. *You* are their children: and God, who hath promised to 'keep mercy to thousands,' and who hath led you out of your own country, *will* preserve you until He comes himself, to gather together all his sheep into his eternal fold.—It is now just one hundred years, since the great persecution commenced against your forefathers, and you, as their sons, shall now inherit the blessing, and in their stead enjoy, together with the liberty of conscience, those privileges for which they lost their lives. God be praised, that you have been delivered, and that we shall have the happiness to see you grow, bud, and blossom in the midst of us. This I implore for you from the fulness of Jesus. Amen."

Mr. Schwedler now provided them with a guide and letters of recommendation to several friends on the road, from whom they received Christian hospitality. When they arrived with the Rev. Mr. Rothe at Bertholsdorf, his natural reserve led him at first to treat them with apparent coolness; but having satisfied himself of their sincerity, and learnt that they were the children of opulent parents, and had left all for the gospel's sake, his behaviour became free and affectionate. He read and applied to them, what the Apostle says of Moses: "By faith

Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; chosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."* After this he sent them forward to Herrnhut, where they arrived on the 12th of May, 1724, just in time to witness the solemn transaction, described in the next section. All they saw and heard convinced them, that this was the place where the Lord would grant rest to the soles of their feet.

They were soon followed by others, among whom David Nitschmann and his son, Melchior, deserve to be particularly mentioned. David Nitschmann was born at Zauchtenthal in Moravia, in 1676. His father, who was a descendant of the ancient Brethren, held weekly meetings for edification in his house, which were attended by large companies. Thus his son David obtained an early knowledge of evangelical truth; yet he did not experience its saving power, till he heard it proclaimed by Christian David. Then the Lord opened his heart to receive in faith the things spoken by his servant. Nitschmann, who then resided at Kunewalde, opened his house for the preaching of the gospel. It was in his house that the scene before related took place, when the officer, who came to apprehend them, was confounded by their singing. The next day, however, Nitschmann was put in prison, kept three days without any food, and so cruelly fettered, that the blood burst from his mouth and nose, and oozed through the pores. In a short time he was liberated, but, a few months after cited before the ecclesiastical court, and, under severe penalties, forbidden to hold any more meetings. Not in the least intimidated by their threats, he made a bold confession of his faith, and was again cast into prison, his feet being made fast in the stocks. Having resolved to attempt his escape, he disclosed his intention to some of his fellow-prisoners. One of them, David Schneider, offered to accompany him. About 11 o'clock at night, as Nitschmann was going to try to unloose the fetters on his feet, he discovered to his astonishment, that they were

* Heb. xi. 24, 25.

unlocked. This strengthened his confidence in God, that *He* would deliver them. Having assisted Schneider to take off his irons, they proceeded with cautious steps across the court of the prison. Schneider was seeking a ladder to assist them in getting over the high gate-way, which was secured by two strong doors; but when Nitschmann approached it he found both doors open. They now hastened to his house, and having given the necessary directions to Nitschmann's wife, commenced their emigration the 25th of January, 1725. Their families followed them after some time.

Not less singular was the escape of David Hickel. When Nitschmann's and Schneider's flight became known, the magistrates ordered their wives to send a messenger to bring them back. This business was entrusted to David Hickel; who after a fruitless search of two or three days, returned without them. The disappointed and exasperated justice, committed him to prison, under a pretext that he had aided their flight, and threatened him with instant death. Hickel very calmly replied: "This depends on the will of God, otherwise it will not take place." He was now remanded, shut up in a dark and cold cell, and left without food for two days. Being again examined and commanded to tell all he knew of the fugitives: "This," he said, "I can do in a few words; for I know nothing at all of those things, concerning which I am questioned." Hereupon he was brought into another room, and had some coarse bread and dirty water offered him. Hearing some persons give orders to guard him closely, he considered this as a call to attempt his escape. Softly opening the door, and observing that the faces of the guard were turned from him, he went through a back door into the garden, and from thence into the street; walked in broad day-light through the village, bidding farewell to several of his friends; and in a few days arrived safely at Herrnhut.

John Tanneberger, likewise a native of Zauchtenthal, was brought to the knowledge of divine truth by the instrumentality of Christian David. When his acquaintance with the Brethren became known, he was apprehended on suspicion of having been privy to the emigration of the Nitschmanns and others;

and though he attested his total ignorance of it, he was confined in the garret of the prison, where he suffered much from intense cold and hunger, having for a whole week received nothing to eat, except what was secretly conveyed to him by his friends. After enjoying liberty for a short season, he was apprehended a second time, and together with others thrust into a loathsome dungeon. During the day they were led out to work, two and two being linked together, each having a heavy log of wood fastened to his leg. As these cruelties were found ineffectual to induce him and his fellow-prisoners to deny their faith, they were set at liberty; but a few days after informed, that they would be summoned before the council the next morning, in order to renounce their doctrine, and bind themselves with an oath to believe what the church of Rome believed. Tanneberger, therefore, resolved to wait no longer, but with his wife and infant son, to leave the house of bondage. He communicated his resolution to others, and that very night a company of twelve persons quitted house and home for the gospel's sake. And though their journey on foot, through unfrequented paths, and chiefly during the night, was attended with many hardships, yet by the help of God they arrived safely in Herrnhut.

Andrew Beier, a native of Kunewalde, met with similar cruel treatment, but experienced also the Lord's help in a very striking manner. He was kept in prison for a whole year, and various tortures were applied to force him to recant and betray the Brethren. These measures proving unsuccessful, his enemies threatened to put him in irons and confine him in a low damp dungeon. On the morning of the day, when this threat was to have been put into execution, his fellow-prisoner, David Fritsch, accidentally pushed against the door of the room where they lay. This loosened the heavy chain which fastened it on the outside, so that they could open the door; and seeing no guard, they hastened home, and with their wives and children, one of whom was only half a year old, fled out of the country. On the road they were stopped by some armed men, who called out to them, "You come from Kunewalde and are going to leave the country: instantly deliver up all you have."

One of them now pointed his sword to the breast of Beier. Terrified at the sight the children gave a loud shriek and cried bitterly, which softened the ruffians, and they let them go on peaceably, intimating, however, that they would in all probability be taken before they had reached the frontiers. But God was better to them than their fears, and they met with no further molestation.

Another Moravian brother, Hans Nitschmann, after residing some time in Herrnhut, resolved to visit his native country, with a view to fetch his sister; and succeeded; but his brother was thereby exposed to great danger. Bailiffs entered his house, took away some books, and were searching for him. Instantly, therefore, he betook himself to flight, and finding that he was pursued, hid himself in a ditch. His pursuers coming up to the place where he lay, he heard them say to each other; "this is the place, here he must be." But they did not discover him, and after a fruitless search of some hours, returned to the village. Nitschmann remained concealed till night, and then prosecuted his journey, and arrived safely in Herrnhut.

A company of about twenty persons from several villages, were not so successful. They had previously sold the greater part of their property, and hired a waggon to convey them and their furniture out of the country. When they reached Schweinitz in Silesia, which then formed part of the Austrian dominions, they were apprehended and put in prison. Thomas Piesch, a youth of fourteen, was the only one who escaped. Finding himself left alone, while the rest of the party were conveyed to the jail, he ran off, and after enduring many hardships, it being the depth of winter, safely reached Herrnhut. The prisoners, whose Christian conduct left a good savour in Schweinitz, were after some time, conducted back to Moravia.

The instances now related, to which many more might be added, at once shew the trials and the faith of the emigrants, and the watchful eye of Divine Providence over them. And it deserves to be generally remarked, that those Moravians, who sought nothing but the salvation of their souls, and were willing to forsake *all* for the sake of Christ, were often very signally delivered from the most imminent dangers and safely

effected their escape. Those on the other hand, who secretly loved the mammon of unrighteousness, and left the country with full purses, were for the most part detected, brought back, and exposed to greater severities; and not seldom lost all their worldly substance. In either case the words of our Saviour were verified: "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it. There is no one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's; but he shall receive an hundredfold, now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mother, and children, and lands, with persecution, and in the world to come eternal life.*"

On the arrival of any emigrants in Herrnhut, they were subjected to a very strict examination concerning their reasons for leaving Moravia; and only those were permitted to stay, who could satisfactorily prove, that they had taken this step purely for the gospel's sake. All others were indeed hospitably entertained and treated with kindness, but sent back as soon as possible, being provided with the needful money for their journey. Count Zinzendorf in most cases gave them a letter to the magistrate of the district to which they belonged. This measure was rendered necessary for two reasons. First, to prevent people of a dubious character from settling at Herrnhut: and, secondly, to remove all suspicions from the civil and ecclesiastical governments in Moravia, that inducements were held out to the emigrants to leave home. With a view of coming to an amicable understanding on this subject, count Zinzendorf waited in person on the Cardinal bishop of Olmutz, at Kremsir in Moravia, and on the Imperial Counsellor von Schrattenbach. His conferences with them elicited this final answer on the part of the government, "that no religious liberty could be granted *in* the country, but that, agreeably to his Imperial Majesty's declaration, none should be prevented emigrating in stillness; but such as returned and instigated others to emigrate, must abide by the consequences." Count Zinzendorf, on his

* Mark viii. 35. and x. 29. 30.

part, promised not to violate this regulation. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that any subsequent breaches of this promise by the other part were solely owing to the misrule of inferior magistrates.

The Moravians in Herrnhut, however, shewed great reluctance in adhering to this regulation, and, notwithstanding their deference to count Zinzendorf, were not disposed to yield implicit obedience to it. Many went secretly to Moravia, in order to rescue their nearest relations and intimate friends from spiritual tyranny. Christian David more especially was not to be restrained. He considered himself as called by God, to instruct his countrymen in the way of salvation, and to assist all, who desired it, to obtain their liberty. On his repeated journies into Moravia, he was often in imminent danger of his life, but experienced no less frequently the most signal deliverance. He also took a journey into Bohemia to discover the descendants of the Bohemian branch of the Brethren's Church. And wherever he visited, his testimony of Jesus was blessed for the awakening and conversion of many. Both by his endeavours and those of others, the light of divine truth still spread in Moravia, and the emigration continued for some time; so that five years after the building of Herrnhut, thirty-four houses had been erected, and inhabited by about three hundred persons, of whom at least one half were Moravian exiles, and lineal descendants of the ancient Brethren's Church.

## SECTION IV.

*Transactions of the 12th of May, 1724—Internal Course and Spirit of the Inhabitants of* HERRNHUT.

IN the early history of the renewed Church of the Brethren, the 12th of May, 1724, forms a remarkable epoch. Certain measures calculated to promote true religion, had for some time been contemplated by count Zinzendorf and his friends, and the new settlement, had been fixed upon as the scene of their operations. As a preliminary step, it had been resolved to erect a large building, to contain an institution for the education of young noblemen, and a printing-office for publishing the Bible

and other religious books at a cheap rate.* On the beforementioned day, in the afternoon, the foundation-stone of this building was laid. Count Zinzendorf and his lady with several other visitors of distinction, among whom was the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer, attended this solemnity.

The company being assembled on the building-ground, count Zinzendorf delivered a very impressive address, at the close of which he declared: "that if the glory of God should not be furthered by the building of this house, it was his earnest wish, that the Almighty would frustrate the undertaking, and even destroy the house with fire from heaven." Baron von Watteville then kneeled down, and with such fervour and enlargement of soul, implored the Lord's benediction on the undertaking, that all present were overwhelmed with emotion and astonishment. The conclusion was made with singing the Te Deum.

When the solemnity was ended countess Zinzendorf said to baron Watteville: "You have anticipated great things; if half be realized it will far exceed our expectations." The count himself often declared, "that he had never in his life witnessed so impressive a solemnity, and that for his part, he considered the grace, which then so evidently prevailed among the Brethren, as the answer to this prayer."

Among those who were present at this transaction, the five Moravian emigrants mentioned above,† deserve to be particularly noticed. They had relinquished home and property, friends and relations, to seek a place where they might enjoy liberty of conscience. What they saw and heard on this memorable occasion convinced them that *Herrnhut was that place.* Here therefore they determined to pitch their tents. But this was not the only thing which rendered their arrival, *at this juncture*, a striking and even important coincidence. They

* The institution for young noblemen, after being continued for some time, was exchanged for an orphan-house of poor children; and the printing-office was transferred to Ebersdorf. A large saloon in the house served the congregation at Herrnhut, as a place of worship till a church could be built.

† See p. 185.

brought with them the sacred deposit of their ancestors, the rites of their church, its spirit, its blessings, and its promises, and were mainly instrumental in promoting the renewal of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Brethren; and all of them, except one of the Nitschmanns,* held in the sequel important offices in the renewed Church of the Brethren, as will be seen in the progress of this work.

All the difficulties, unavoidably connected with the formation of a new colony, especially when undertaken by such poor and despised people as the Moravian Brethren, were rendered easy to them, and all their troubles were sweetened, by the grace which prevailed among them, by their zeal in the cause of God, and by the Christian spirit which influenced all their proceedings. To this spirit, and the means of awakening and keeping it alive, we shall now direct the attention of the reader.

The public ministry and private religious exercises constituted a principal means. Mr. Rothe, in whose parish Herrnhut was situated, was indefatigable in his ministerial labours, and employed his uncommon powers, as a pulpit orator, to fix the attention of his hearers, with the most impressive simplicity and irresistibly persuasive eloquence on the great fundamental doctrines of the gospel. When it happened, that according to the rites of the Lutheran Church, three or four festival days followed each other in succession,† neither the preacher nor the hearers complained of satiety, but the service of the last day was generally considered the best. After the morning service he catechised, and afterwards held a meeting for conversation with as many of his hearers as felt disposed to attend. These conversations were conducted in the most unreserved manner, every one being at liberty to state his opinion and propose his doubts on any subject that came under discussion. On these occasions Mr. Rothe appeared to peculiar advantage, and seldom failed to reach the hearts of his auditory. He always closed with prayer, and then followed a meeting for singing

* David Nitschmann, the oldest of the three men of that name. He had returned to Moravia, in order to fetch some of his relations, but was apprehended and imprisoned at Olmutz, where he died in 1729.

† At Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

hymns, which generally had the effect of elevating the assembly above sublunary things, and bringing their souls into sweet harmony with the spirits of just men before the throne, who are eternally chaunting the praises of the Lamb that was slain.* In the afternoon, or evening, the congregation assembled in a saloon in count Zinzendorf's mansion. At this meeting the count in presence of Mr. Rothe repeated the sermon preached in the morning. In the repetition he seldom omitted a single proposition or argument. If this happened the omission was supplied by Mr. Rothe or one of his hearers. When the count was absent, this service was performed by Mr. Rothe himself. Meetings for social prayer were also held during the week in the house of lady Johanna Sophia von Gersdorf, who had moved to Bertholsdorf, in order to superintend and assist in the education of some young females. Many were astonished at the fervor and enlargement of soul, with which illiterate persons poured out their hearts before God on these occasions. They felt the divine reality of religion, and were stirred up to seek their own salvation.

Not content with calling sinners to repentance, and labouring for the good of those who professed to have renounced the world, Mr. Rothe held private meetings for edification on Sundays, and count Zinzendorf during the week, for the pur-

* These meetings gave rise to the custom, still more or less practised in all the congregations of the Brethren, of holding separate meetings exclusively for singing hymns. These meetings are conducted in the following manner. The minister, or brother who presides, instead of confining himself to *one* hymn, selects a number of verses from different hymns, in such a manner, that the whole series of verses contains a connected view of some divine subject or other. The whole congregation joining in the singing feel a greater interest in the subject, and contemplate it with more direct self-application, than is often the case when they merely listen to a discourse. They are thus "speaking to themselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord." (Ephes. v. 18, 19.) The variety of tunes introduced, has the additional advantage of preventing languor in singing, and when accompanied by a good organ and skilful and pious player, and a judicious selection of verses and tunes, the effect is at once pleasing and edifying. In our English congregations such a meeting generally closes the services of the Lord's day.

pose of furthering the spiritual progress of such as had made greater advances in their Christian course.

Nor should the services rendered by baron von Watteville be forgotten. Though of a less public nature, they were not less beneficial. His amiable character and urbanity of manners procured him the esteem and confidence of persons of every rank, and peculiarly qualified him, by private intercourse, to fan the spark of faith and love, in high and low, learned and unlearned. No one was better fitted to remove misunderstandings, settle differences, and effect reconciliation, and he was ever ready to perform these kind offices. Regardless of his superior rank, he for some time lodged in a small room in the first house, built by the emigrants, that he might sympathise in all their concerns, and be at hand to administer comfort and advice, as occasion might require. The emigrants knew how to appreciate his condescension; the more so as count Zinzendorf was seldom at home, and the distance of Mr. Rothe's residence prevented their having much intercourse with him. Mr. Heitz likewise did his part in furthering this good work, by means of the religious meetings in his house on Sunday evenings. In the discourses delivered by him, on these occasions, he confined himself to those doctrines, the knowledge of which is essential to salvation; and he possessed a peculiar talent for exhibiting divine truth in such a plain, precise and connected form, that one doctrine always appeared to be the necessary consequence of the other. Scripture was constantly compared with scripture, and all who could read, took a Bible with them to look for the texts quoted. Every one was at liberty to state his opinion and doubts, and ask for explanation. At the same time the introduction of all merely speculative opinions tending only to provoke controversy, was carefully avoided, and every divine truth applied to practical purposes. There was peculiar need to enforce the inability of fallen man to do the works of righteousness, and the consequent necessity of a Mediator to satisfy divine justice. That these endeavours of Mr. Heitz were in an eminent degree blessed by God for the awakening, enlightening and comforting of the Moravian emigrants, is undeniable, and is confirmed by their own testimony. Several such testimonies are still extant in

letters written by them after his removal from Bertholsdorf. These letters also display the *spirit*, which animated the first inhabitants of Herrnhut. A few extracts from one of these letters, will corroborate this assertion. It was written by Augustin Neisser, and is as follows:

"The love which fills the soul, when the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, and we are united by the love of Christ, into *one* body under Him, the Head, is far better known by experience, than described in words. May Jesus, by his almighty power, confirm, preserve, strengthen and increase in us this holy flame, till it shall be perfected in eternal life. 'If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. Hereby we know that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit.' The conversation of such persons is indeed very different from that of others. It sinks deep into the heart: and I can bear witness, that by the power of God your discourses have often penetrated my heart. I freely confess, that few hours pass, when I have not the most lively recollection of the various subjects we used to discourse upon. Some of those subjects I did not then understand, much less experience: but God be praised, who confirms in one, so poor and weak as I am, the truth of his divine Word, having given me a right understanding of the way of a sinner's justification and sanctification, and taught me that justification by faith, and righteousness of life, are not to be confounded, and that true love to God and man is the fruit of faith, derived from the fulness of Jesus; and that 'God hath chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and unblameable before him in love.' Without this faith all is mere delusion, which can never renovate the heart; and it is to be feared that many *thus* believe to their eternal damnation. May God so enlighten the eyes of our understanding, that we may know the power of evangelical truth, whereby all are saved who believe, and each 'may know what is the hope of his calling, and what are the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints!' I wish nothing so much, my dear brother, as that I might be permitted once more in my life to converse with you, and still more that this might take place in

Herrnhut; there you would see with your own eyes the wonders God hath wrought for us within these few years; whose glory would have been still more manifest, if we had not often impeded his work. But thanks be to him for what hath been done! For my own person I experience what the Son of God saith, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you!' I have plenty of work. May our great King Jesus, who has begun to establish his kingdom in very many places, defend it against the powers of darkness, and give might and victory to his people. I commend you to the love and protection of God."

## SECTION V.

*Internal Dissensions—Means used for their removal—Remarkable celebration of the Lord's Supper on the 13th. of August, 1727—Awakening among the Children—Hourly Intercession.*

All that has been hitherto related of the work begun at Herrnhut was calculated to inspire hope. It was however, not long before that hope was, if not altogether blighted, yet considerably diminished. Good seed had been sown in this new field, and was beginning to spring up and bear fruit; but tares were sown among the wheat by the spirit of discord, which threatened to choke the good seed altogether.

The increase of the new colony was rapid beyond expectation; for, besides the Moravian emigrants, many pious people of various religious denominations took up their abode in Herrnhut. In making this choice most of them, if not all, were undoubtedly influenced by a sincere desire of effecting the salvation of their souls, which they hoped to promote by their comparative seclusion from the world. They were also pretty well agreed on the great leading doctrines of Christianity. But on some of the abstruser points in theology there existed a considerable difference of opinion, and this prevailed in a yet greater degree with regard to church government and discipline. Mr. Rothe as minister of the parish considered it his duty to inter-

fere; but his zeal, not being sufficiently tempered with prudence, carried him too far. By making these dissensions the subject of public animadversion from the pulpit, he excited such general dissatisfaction, that nearly all the new colonists absented themselves from the church. The Moravian emigrants in particular were displeased and declared, that, having left their native country with no other view than to enjoy liberty of conscience, they would not now submit to the imposition of a *new* yoke.

Many even prepared to quit Herrnhut in search of a place, where they might be allowed to form their regulations entirely on the model of the church of their ancestors.

Christian David, carried away by zeal for his people, went so far, that he built a house for himself beyond the precincts of the settlement; and vehemently urged an entire separation from the Lutheran church, painting its degeneracy in the strongest colours. "Of what use is it," said he, "to venture one's life in the cause of religion, if those, who emigrate, are swallowed up by the Lutheran church, whereby they are deceived and made to believe that they are grounded in grace? Of what use is it, if we are praised and extolled to the skies, and thereby relax in seeking that true conversion of heart, in which we are still defective, and thus only become twofold the children of hell?"

In the hope of pacifying them, Mr. Rothe in some degree complied with the wish of the emigrants. Various regulations, observed by the ancient Brethren, were, with his approbation introduced at Herrnhut. But this very measure, instead of quenching, in the end tended only to fan the flame of discord. The good people, though doubtless for the most part sincere in their intentions, had not yet learned to practise the apostolic precept, so essential to the maintenance of a church discipline voluntarily submitted to: "All of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility." i. Pet. v. 5.

These contentions had risen to an alarming height in the spring of 1727. When count Zinzendorf, who was then in Dresden, heard of it, he sent a letter to Herrnhut, containing a brief exposition of his views of Christian doctrine and practice.

This failing of success, he solicited, and obtained, leave of temporary absence from the court of Saxony; and hastened to Herrnhut. His first object was to restore mutual confidence between Mr. Rothe and the Moravian emigrants, which had been entirely lost, and to reconcile the latter to the use of the ritual of the Lutheran church. After many conversations with individuals, and long conferences with the most pious, experienced and leading men among them, he, at length, so far succeeded that they consented to make use of the public ministry of the Word and sacraments in the parish church; but insisted on forming regulations for their private and social conduct, according to the usage of the ancient Brethren's Church, to the observance of which all should pledge themselves, who became inhabitants of the settlement.

This request was readily acceded to by the count, who, in conjunction with Mr. Rothe and others, compiled a set of rules, which were called the *Statutes of the congregation*, and formed a code of laws for its members. It should be particularly observed, that these Statutes were not intended to set forth any NEW DOCTRINES, or enact the observance of any *rites* or *usages*, not clearly founded on the holy Scriptures. The object was simply to digest, in a clear and plain form, those precepts of Holy Writ, by which the conduct of the members of a Christian community ought to be regulated, in relation both to their private deportment, and their social intercourse among themselves and others. To these were added some regulations which may be called *municipal*, because they regarded their civil condition as a corporate body living together in a settlement, the very design of which, agreeably to their original ideas, was, that it should be a village of the Lord, where every thing should be transacted consistently with the principles of his Holy Word. In framing these Statutes, therefore, the precepts of the New Testament, as they respect the conduct of the members of a Christian Church in their individual and associate capacity, were laid for the foundation; and in all matters of outward form or mere expediency, the practice of the primitive Church and the regulations of the ancient Brethren in Moravia were consulted; and were finally adopted as far as

they suited the circumstances of time and place, and the constitution of the country.

The ultimate aim of these Statutes was, to promote true godliness among the inhabitants of Herrnhut, to remove, or at least to lessen, future causes of discord, quicken brotherly love, maintain peace, and preserve the unity of the spirit with Christians of every name and confession. We shall insert the three first Rules, or Resolutions, because they contain the fundamental principles, the rest being little more, than an application of these principles to the several relations of the inhabitants of Herrnhut, as Christians, citizens, and subjects. They are the following:

I. "It shall never be forgotten *in Herrnhut*, that it is built on the living God, and is a work of his Almighty hand. It is not so much a *new* settlement,* as an institution formed *for the Brethren*, and on their account."

II. "Herrnhut with those properly intended to be its inhabitants," (i. e. Moravian exiles,) "shall constantly maintain love with all God's children in every Christian denomination, shall judge none, and abstain from all contentions and unseemly behaviour towards those with whom they may differ in opinion; and endeavour to preserve among its own members the purity, simplicity and grace of evangelical truth."

III. "In Herrnhut the Holy Scriptures shall ever be the only standard of faith and practice, by which our whole conduct ought to be regulated. Agreeably to the Word of God, we can acknowledge such only for genuine members of the body of Christ, in whom the following marks of true faith are discernible. Whoever does not confess that he hath been apprehended *solely* by the grace of God in Christ, and that he needs this grace every moment of his life;—that the most perfect rectitude of conduct, (if it even were attainable,) can be of no avail in the sight of God without the intercession of Jesus, pleading the merit of his blood, and can be rendered accepta-

* The literal meaning of the German word is place, but it is evidently used here to denote an establishment. Herrnhut was not designed to be the birth-place of a NEW religious sect, but to afford an asylum to the remnant of an ancient church.

ble only through Christ;—whoever does not make it clearly manifest, that he is really in earnest to be delivered from sin, (for which Christ has suffered,) to become daily more holy and more like the image of God, in which man was created, to be more and more purified from the remains of natural corruption, vanity and self-will, to walk even as Jesus walked, and willingly to bear his reproach—such a one is not a genuine Brother. But whoever holds the mystery of faith in a pure conscience, though some of his opinions may be sectarian, fanatical, or otherwise erroneous, shall not on that account be despised by us, or, if he separate himself from us, be forsaken or treated as an enemy; but we will bear and forbear with him in love, patience and meekness. Such persons, who, though they do not dissent from the fundamental principles of faith, yet do not steadfastly continue in them, shall be considered as weak and halting Brethren, and be restored in the spirit of meekness."

On the 12th of May these Statutes were unanimously adopted. Count Zinzendorf first delivered a discourse, which lasted above three hours, speaking with great emphasis on the evil of schism, and the design of the Statutes. These were then read, and all present were required to observe them, and pledge their hand in token of obedience. Contrary to expectation, this was done, with a single exception, by all the inhabitants of Herrnhut, even by those who had hitherto entertained separatistical notions.

If it be remembered, that the inhabitants of Herrnhut then amounted to three hundred or more, this unanimity is truly astonishing, and can be ascribed to nothing less than the mighty, though secret, operations of the Spirit of God. All former dissensions were forgotten. Each was ashamed of himself, and ready to esteem his brother more highly than himself; and all expressed their determination to submit to the teaching of the Spirit of God, and devote themselves to our Saviour. Several years after count Zinzendorf spoke of this event as follows:

"This day, May 12th, 21 years ago, it appeared doubtful whether Herrnhut would be governed by the true spirit of a Church of Christ, or become the nest of a new sect, founded on the opinions of a man. By the influence of the Holy Ghost,

the decision was made in favour of the former. Then that foundation was laid, which, exciting solicitude for our personal happiness, made us willing to relinquish every idea of reforming others. It is past description how mightily our Saviour afterwards carried on his work. The tabernacle of God with men seemed to be visibly erected in this place. All were filled with gladness, and continued so till the 13th of August, when this ecstacy of joy was succeeded by a tranquil feeling of sabbatical rest."

The adoption of the Statutes led to the appointment of twelve *Elders*.* Before the election took place it was preliminarily resolved to exclude all persons of learning and distinction, and to choose men of no rank, but of acknowledged piety and sound understanding, who enjoyed the love and confidence of their fellow-citizens. They were elected by majority of vote; and four of them were a few days after nominated chief elders and confirmed by lot. These were Christian David, Christopher Hoffemann,† George Nitschmann, the oldest man in Herrnhut, and Melchior Nitschmann, only twenty-five years of age. Several other offices were also instituted, tending to promote the common weal and preserve good order; and these offices were committed as occasion required, to persons of both sexes, who were appointed by majority of votes. Count Zinzendorf, assisted by baron von Watteville, was chosen *Warden* of the congregation, and acted in the capacity of guardian or patron. The elders met at stated times for consultation on the concerns of the congregation and its members; and thus formed a board of superintendence, which received the name of the *Elders' Conference*. Besides this board a more numerous convention,

* This office was not properly *clerical*, for the Brethren had not yet formed their own ecclesiastical constitution. It was the duty of the Elders to watch over the conduct of their fellow-members in the Church, to exhort and admonish them, adjust differences, and take the lead in their private religious assemblies. They were, by unanimous consent, invested with authority to maintain the due observance of the Statutes.

† He was a person of consequence among the sect of Schwenkfelders, and had for seven years acted as their deputy at Vienna. He and many of his fraternity had come to Herrnhut. They, however, left it again before the end of the year.

called the *Congregation Council* was appointed. It consisted besides the Elders, of the heads of families, persons holding subordinate offices, and a number of Brethren and Sisters, chosen by majority of votes; and formed a *Representative Assembly* of the whole congregation. All subjects of importance, involving the general interest, were by the Elders' conference referred to the Congregation Council, which finally determined on the adoption, or rejection, of any proposed measure. If after mature consideration of any subject in all its bearings, they could not come to a final agreement, they had recourse to the use of the lot. This, however, was never done, without previous conviction, that the subject was of sufficient importance to justify such an appeal.

On Sundays and festival days a meeting was held in Herrnhut early in the morning, after which the inhabitants attended divine service in the parish church. To accommodate the aged and infirm, who could not go to Bertholsdorf, the sermon was repeated at Herrnhut. In the evening a discourse was delivered to the congregation, and generally a meeting for singing hymns concluded the whole.* Besides these public services, meetings were held and discourses delivered to several divisions of the congregation, adapted to the diversities of age or sex. Thus Sunday became, in the strictest sense, a day holy unto the Lord, and the observance of the earthly Sabbath an anticipation of heavenly rest.

During the week the congregation met every morning at 5 o'clock, when a portion of Scripture was read, accompanied by a short address, and concluded with a hymn and prayer. Sometimes two or three brethren spoke and prayed. For the sake of the aged and infirm, a meeting, conducted in the same manner was held at 9 o'clock. The day was closed with a meeting for singing, or for communicating religious intelligence.

At the suggestion of Christian David, and others, the Epistles of St. John were frequently read and expounded. Hereby the hearers were deeply impressed with the importance of brotherly love, and by the blessing of God this was attend-

* See page 195. Note.

ed with the happiest effects. The bitterness of spirit, which still secretly rankled in the bosoms of some, gradually gave way to the spirit of love. Various other occurrences served to confirm the good work which had been so happily begun. Indeed it is impossible, on reading the details of the daily proceedings at Herrnhut, during the months of July and August, in 1727, not to acknowledge that God, accompanying the external means by the influence of his holy Spirit, was preparing the inhabitants for a yet clearer manifestation of his grace.

To these external means must likewise be reckoned the powerful sermons of the Rev. Mr. Rothe, which were blessed to the awakening and conversion of many hundred persons;—the assiduous endeavours of count Zinzendorf, by repeated public discourses and frequent private conversations with the individuals, to open their understandings to the reception of evangelical truth, divert their minds from mere speculative opinions and polemic theology, and engage the whole of their affections for those doctrines of Holy Writ, which by the blessing of God, convert the soul, and make the believer a *new creature* in thought, word and deed:—and the occasional labours of pious individuals who visited Herrnhut. Among other instances of this kind, related in the diary of Herrnhut, the following may serve as an example:

"July 2nd, 1727, the Rev. Mr. Schwedler, of Niederwiese, preached in the church at Bertholsdorf.* The concourse of

* The 2nd of July, called the *Visitation of Mary*, is observed in the Lutheran church as a holiday.—Mr. Schwedler possessed uncommon zeal as a preacher, and was endowed with great powers of mind and body for public speaking. It was no unusual thing for him to continue the service, in his church, from 6 o'clock in the morning till 3 in the afternoon. All this time, except such portions of it as were occupied with singing two or three hymns, he was either reading or speaking. Such was the power of his voice, that he could be distinctly heard by thousands. The following anecdote, related by count Zinzendorf, is characteristic of the man. "It once happened in his church in Niederwiese, that the hymn was sung, which begins, *Farewell, world, thy sinful ways—no pleasure yield to me.* The second line was scarce ended, when, like Elijah of old, zeal for his God inflamed his whole soul. With a voice like thunder, which overpowered the sound of the organ, and several thousand singers, he cried out: 'In the name of God what

people was so great, that upwards of a thousand could not find room in the church, but stood without, and were addressed by Mr. Rothe in a most powerful sermon. In the afternoon the people assembled in great numbers at Herrnhut, and as the place of worship could not accommodate them all, count Zinzendorf delivered three discourses in succession. After this, Mr. Schwedler preached in the open square to an immense multitude; and count Zinzendorf concluded with an exhortation, founded on a Lutheran hymn, which begins thus: "O Lord God, thy word divine—has long remained concealed," &c. The Rev. Mr. Schaeffer, having arrived in the evening, delivered a powerful discourse on the words of Solomon: A just man falleth seven times. Prov. xxiv. 16.* When the people had dispersed, the inhabitants of Herrnhut once more assembled, and closed the day with their usual evening-service. A brother remarked: "We have enjoyed an apostolical day, and we must now expect to share in apostolical sufferings."

The celebration of the Lord's Supper on the 13th of August completed the good work so happily begun. At the usual meeting at Herrnhut, on Sunday the 10th of August, Mr. Rothe addressed the congregation with uncommon fervor, and in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, exhorted all to

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are you singing? What is it that does not please you? The Lord Jesus Christ does not please you. To him you must say: *I take no pleasure in thee*; then you will sing the truth. But you sing THE WORLD DOES NOT PLEASE ME, &c.' Having thus engaged attention, he continued to press the subject with such strength of argument, that the whole congregation burst into loud weeping. Softening his voice he added; 'If the world is really become distasteful to you, then confess it in the name of Jesus!' The verse was then sung, and the service continued." (See *Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf.*)

* During the service a clergyman from the neighbourhood endeavoured to divert the attention of the auditory, by propagating some strange notions on the text. But Mr. Schaeffer, without knowing any thing of this occurrence, expounded it in a very clear and scriptural manner, to the satisfaction of all.

On his return to Goerlitz late at night, he kneeled down, on a hill from whence he could overlook Herrnhut, and in a most fervent prayer, implored the divine blessing on that place and its inhabitants.

dedicate themselves, with full purpose of heart, to the Lord and his service. More than an earthly influence animated the whole assembly, and they continued together in prayer, singing of hymns and spiritual discourse till late at night. On the following morning Mr. Rothe sent a very affectionate invitation to count Zinzendorf and the inhabitants of Herrnhut, to join him and his family in the celebration of the Lord's Supper on the following Wednesday. The invitation was accepted: but as this holy ordinance had not been observed for some time by the inhabitants of Herrnhut, the preceding day was spent in preparing their minds for this important solemnity. In the course of the day count Zinzendorf paid visits to every family, and in a friendly and familiar manner conversed with them on the character of a worthy communicant. Two young women who had never before gone to the Lord's table, were appointed for confirmation. For this purpose a formulary of questions and answers, embracing the leading doctrines of the gospel, had been previously compiled for their instruction. In the evening the whole congregation assembled, and both men and women signed the Statutes. Hereupon the two candidates answered the questions, put to them according to the just mentioned formulary, with great emotion. A deep impression was made on the assembly, and it proved the means of awakening some individuals from the sleep of sin. The candidates themselves spent the whole night in meditation and prayer.

On the day following, being Wednesday, August 13th, 1727, the public celebration of the memorial of our Saviour's death took place at Bertholsdorf. As this transaction was succeeded by the most important consequences to the Church of the Brethren, we shall insert, nearly at length, the relation given of it in the diary of Herrnhut. The reader will bear in mind, that the service was performed according to the ritual of the Lutheran church.

"Before we went to church a discourse was delivered in Herrnhut, treating of the Lord's Supper. On the way to Bertholsdorf* two or more joined in spiritual conversation, and

* The distance is about one English mile.

those who had taken offence at each other, mutually confessed their faults, became reconciled and were united in love.

"In the church the service was opened by singing a hymn, beginning,

Deliver me, O Lord, from all my bonds and fetters, &c.

"Hereupon Mr. Rothe pronounced a truly apostolical blessing on the two candidates, which was confirmed by the congregation with a hearty *Amen.* The assembly then kneeled down, and sang the hymn,

My soul before thee prostrate lies, &c.

"This was accompanied with such a powerful emotion, that loud weeping almost drowned the singing.

"The hymn being ended, several prayed in the power of the Spirit. Count Zinzendorf having, as Warden of the congregation, made a public penitential confession in its name, (as customary in the Lutheran church,) the officiating clergyman repeated the form of absolution. Hereupon we celebrated the memorial of our Lord's death at his table, with feelings at once humbled and elevated. And about 12 o'clock at noon we returned to our several homes, experiencing no small degree of inward rapture; and spent the remainder of this and the following days, in a tranquil and happy frame of mind, learning the lesson of love."*

In reviewing all the circumstances now related, the pious reader will feel little hesitation to subscribe to the sentiments of Crantz,† in reference to this subject. "On the 12th of May, the dry bones were collected, and by means of various

* The two Elders, Christian David and Melchior Nitschmann, were in Moravia on this memorable day: but though bodily absent, were by a holy sympathy united in the same spirit with the congregation. "On their return," the diary continues, "their first question was, what we had been doing at Herrnhut on the 13th. of August in the forenoon? adding, that being in the orphan house at Sablat and feeling an irresistible impulse for prayer, they had retired into the garret and poured out their souls before God with an uncommon degree of emotion. It had immediately struck them, that something very unusual must be transacting at Herrnhut at this hour. Their astonishment was therefore the greater, when informed of the occurrences of that day."

† History of the Brethren, p. 118.

useful regulations, were in the following days covered with sinews and skin; and on the 13th of August the Spirit of the Lord breathing upon them, infused the vital principle, and prepared them for active service in the kingdom of God among Christians and heathens."

While the influences of the Holy Spirit were thus graciously communicated to the adult inhabitants of Herrnhut, the good Shepherd did not forget the lambs of his flock; but enkindled the flame of love to him in many a youthful breast; so that the instructions they received in his sacred Word, not only enlarged their understandings, but, by his blessing, became life and power in their souls. Of this remarkable awakening we shall relate the principal facts, especially for the sake of our juvenile readers.

The first subject of real conversion of heart was the child, Susanna Kuehnel, who resided with her parents at Herrnhut. In her eleventh year she lost her mother, whose peaceful serenity of mind, during her last illness, the assured hope, with which she looked forward to her dissolution, and the holy joy, in which she fell asleep in Jesus, made a deep impression on her daughter, and proved the means of that change of heart, which then took place among the children. The bereaved daughter, sensibly affected by the loss of her mother, and still more by the eternal happiness she now enjoyed, longed to experience the same. For three whole days she was so absorbed in prayer and in the contemplation of spiritual things, that she almost forgot the wants of the body. During the last night, her father, who slept in the adjoining apartment, heard her cries and prayers. Towards morning, comfort burst upon her soul, the mental conflict ended, she found joy and peace in believing, and, calling to her father, exclaimed: "*Now* I am become a child of God; and now I know how my mother felt and still feels."

She could not be restrained, her mouth overflowed with praises to her Saviour, and she became a preacher of righteousness among her companions. The desire after salvation, first excited among the children at Herrnhut, was in a short time communicated to the pupils in the Girls' Boarding-school at Bertholsdorf; and likewise among some boys, who lived together in the building, then called the orphan-house, which

adjoined the dwelling of Susanna Kuehnel. This circumstance afforded the boys frequent opportunities of observing her sing and pray in her father's garden, and proved the means of leading their own minds to serious reflection, and to a dedication of themselves to our Saviour. Nor was this a mere transitory impression, but truly a work of the Spirit of God, as all these children, with hardly any exceptions, remained faithful to their profession in maturer years. The following extract, from the diary of Herrnhut, conveys a clear idea of the nature of this work.

"August 28d, (1727,) the operation of the Spirit of God in the children of both sexes became so strikingly evident as to excite the astonisment of all who witnessed it. The conversation of Susanna Kuehnel displayed increasing ardour of zeal and growing seriousness. The 29th was another day of distinguished blessing among the children. At night the girls from Herrnhut and Bertholsdorf assembled on the Hutberg, and continued in prayer and singing till the next morning. The boys were similarly employed in another place."

It is a decisive proof of the soundness of their piety, that the members of the congregation at Herrnhut, both aged and young, paid the strictest attention to the duty of prayer. It was one of those fruits of the Spirit, which had been richly poured out upon them, during these days of gracious visitation. They felt how much they owed to it, and they must have questioned the truth of their own experience, if they had doubted the veracity of the divine promises on this subject. Hence they considered it rather as a privilege than a duty. It was enjoyed by them as a most delightful employment, when met in the house of God, or assembled in the social circle, or retired into the secret chamber, where no eye saw them save that of their heavenly Father. Taught by his Spirit the truth of their Saviour's promise: "If two of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven," (Matt. xviii. 19,) and confirmed in it by their own experience, they agreed to the adoption of a regulation, which appeared well calculated to stir up and keep alive the spirit of prayer and supplication,

and which was called the *Hourly intercession.* The reason, design and order of this regulation, as recorded in the diary of Herrnhut, were in substance the following: "Some members of the congregation were of opinion, that it would be well to appoint certain hours of the day for prayer, conceiving that the very agreement to this would tend to stimulate its performance. For as, during the dispensation of the old covenant, the fire on the altar was continually kept burning, and never suffered to go out; thus in the Church of Christ, which is the temple of the living God, the flame of holy devotion should never be extinguished, but ascend to his throne, like sweet incense, in the prayers of the saints. Having received such great favours at his hand, they deemed it their sacred duty never to hold their peace, but to offer the sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving continually. The more their circle of acquaintance enlarged, the more frequent were the applications made by persons suffering temporal or spiritual distresses, to be remembered by the congregation, when offering their supplications at the throne of Almighty grace. As a further motive they referred to the ruin, which but lately threatened the congregation, and which had only been averted by the powerful grace of God, and to the trials and persecutions which might befal them, through the hostility of enemies, both far and near, who seemed to meditate evil against this infant cause.

These considerations originated the idea of assigning to two or more members of the congregation, a particular hour each day or night, to be spent in retirement, in prayer and praise. This regulation was mentioned to the congregation, leaving each individual at full liberty either to accede to it or not. In a few days, upwards of seventy Brethren and Sisters, formed a plan, according to which the twenty-four hours of day and night were divided in such a manner, that two or more persons were every hour engaged in prayer and thanksgiving; each individual choosing that hour of the day or night, which to him was the most convenient. This regulation was by no means intended to supersede the public and social prayers of the Church, but was professedly an act of private devotion. Neither was it expected, that the *Intercessors* as they were called, should

spend the whole hour on their knees; but they were at full liberty to occupy the time in pious meditation and other acts of devotion. The *Intercessors* met once a week, when they were made acquainted with those circumstances of the congregation, of the Christian Church and of the world at large, which seemed particularly to require the prayers of the faithful. This regulation commenced on the 27th of August, 1727.

## SECTION VI.

*Extension of the Brethren's Sphere of Action—Journies undertaken by* Count Zinzendorf *and others—Attempts to propagate the gospel among the* Heathen.

By the various internal and external means, narrated in the preceding section, did the divine Head of his universal Church, consecrate to himself and prepare for his service, that branch of it, which, after lying buried in the ashes of persecution for nearly a century, had a few years ago, revived at Herrnhut, and by the power of His Spirit was now adjusting itself for action.

The proceedings of the Moravian exiles acquired in a short time too much notoriety to be long beheld with indifference by others; and the newly formed congregation had, in its very infancy, to pass through evil as well as good report. Herrnhut was therefore visited by persons of all descriptions, who came to see and hear for themselves. Others, living at too great a distance, requested information by letter, or solicited visits from the Brethren. This led to the sending of *Deputations* into several, and often very remote countries. Thus a door of usefulness was opened to them, for displaying the spirit of their ancestors, by shewing the same zeal for propagating the gospel wherever opportunity offered.

It was well for themselves, and for the cause they wished to serve, that they were not invited to engage in this work, while still unsettled in their religious opinions and at variance with one another. In this no less than in many other circumstances, connected with the renewal of the Brethren's Church, the good-

ness of God was most strikingly made manifest, and fully justified the hope they entertained, and which gave energy to all their undertakings, that he had destined them, not only to obtain grace for themselves, but to call others to repentance; not only silently to testify, by consistency of conduct, that faith in Jesus makes men holy as well as happy, but to publish his salvation to the ends of the earth. After the rich effusion of the Holy Spirit upon them, on the memorable thirteenth of August, they knew what they believed, they were built on the only sure foundation of Christian doctrine and practice, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, and they were fitted to bear witness to others of its truth and power; to scatter the seed and to reap the fruit.

The first Deputation of this kind was undertaken in the autumn of 1727, to Copenhagen, Prince Charles, brother to the reigning monarch, Frederic IV. having signified his wish to obtain authentic information of the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren. In compliance with this request the two emigrants, Hans and David Nitschmann, visited Denmark. Being furnished with a letter of introduction from count Zinzendorf, they were received with much condescension by the Prince, and several other persons of distinction. The answer of the Prince to the count's letter affords a pleasing proof of his piety. He expressed himself to the following effect: "I thank you in the most cordial manner for the authentic information of the institution at Herrnhut, with which you have favoured me in your letter, and by the oral communications of the pious individuals deputed by you. It has afforded me very sincere pleasure, and I have been thereby excited to admire and extol the wonderful and gracious providence of God, who amidst many cruel oppressions and even persecutions, has preserved the light of divine truth from utter extinction, and caused it to burst forth with renewed splendour. May the Most High continue to you his powerful aid, strengthen the disposition he has awakened, to promote his glory, and cause it to yield abundant fruit." This interview with the Prince paved the way for count Zinzendorf's personal acquaintance at the court of Denmark, and facilitated the commencement of the missionary labours of the Brethren.

In the summer of 1728, count Zinzendorf visited Jena, several Brethren being in his company, who had devoted themselves to the service of God. During his stay, a number of residents in the university, both tutors and students, amounting to more than a hundred, sought his acquaintance. They had formed an association among themselves, having for its object the promotion of true godliness. They had established several free schools in the suburbs, and employed their leisure hours in teaching poor children. Possessing some previous knowledge of the Brethren and their establishment, they solicited further information, and were desirous of forming a regulation among themselves similar to that at Herrnhut. The Brethren, indeed, dissuaded them from this, as not adapted to their present circumstances and future destination; yet their intercourse with them led to many pleasing results. They were more firmly grounded in the doctrine of the atonement; brotherly love increased among them, they were brought into true fellowship of spirit with the congregation at Herrnhut, and were made a blessing to many of their fellow students and other inhabitants. Some of them in the sequel joined the Brethren's Church, and rendered it important services.

Among the students in the university in Halle likewise there were many, who formed a similar union, desired connection with the Brethren, and were visited by them. Various circumstances, however, impeded the progress of the work; and it soon became manifest, that the professors and divines in Halle bore no good will towards the Brethren.

During this period, deputations from the Brethren visited England, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, and Russia; but as some years elapsed before they obtained permanent footing in these countries; any account of their labours, must be reserved for a subsequent chapter. An attempt to penetrate into Lapland may be briefly noticed in this place. In 1734, three Brethren travelled to that country; but finding that the Swedish government had already made provision for the religious instruction of the natives, one of them returned to Herrnhut, and the other two proceeded to Archangel. Here they met with some Samoyedes, with whom they prepared to

travel into their country, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to these poor heathen. On applying for a passport, they were suspected of being Swedish spies, and after a confinement of five weeks sent to Petersburg; where they were lodged five weeks more in the gaol. Some protestant gentlemen shewed them much kindness. Their innocence and pious intention being at length fully proved, they were set at liberty, and one of the chief ministers of state addressed them in these words: "You may go, good people, your services are not required here; a time may perhaps come, when we shall send for you." This actually took place twenty-five years afterwards. During that interval, however, several Brethren visited Russia, some of whom suffered imprisonment; of which more will be said hereafter.

The early exertions of the Brethren, to extend the kingdom of Christ, were not limited to Europe and its Christian population. They burned with desire to preach Christ in those regions of the globe, where his name had hitherto remained wholly unknown. Viewing *all* mankind as equally involved in sin and ruin through the apostacy of the first Adam and their own disobedience, they longed to diffuse among them the knowledge of the second Adam, who is the Lord from heaven, that by faith in Him they might participate in his redemption. Constrained by the love of Christ, they considered his command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," as binding on them, and panted for an opportunity of obeying it. The more destitute, degraded and savage any people were, the greater was their pity for them, and the stronger their desire to offer to them the consolations of the gospel.

Actuated by these principles we find them consulting together, as early as the year 1728, on the practicability of converting Greenlanders, Negro slaves, and other barbarous nations, to the faith of Christ. At that time they saw little prospect of realizing their wish. Count Zinzendorf, however, whose mind, even in youth, had been deeply impressed with this subject, declared it to be his confident persuasion, that the Lord would open to the Brethren a door of utterance among the Heathen.

Two years after, an apparently trifling, but in its consequences most important occurrence, prepared the way for the realization of their hopes. Count Zinzendorf being in Copenhagen for the purpose of attending the coronation of King Christian VI. of Denmark, his domestics became acquainted with a Negro of the name of Anthony. This man visited Herrnhut, and, by his account of the deplorable condition of the Negro slaves in the West Indies, revived and strengthened, in the minds of the Brethren, the previously existing desire of preaching the gospel to them. Two young men and intimate friends, Leonard Dober and Thomas Leupold were stirred up to devote themselves to this service. Each having first examined himself on the sincerity of his motives, and in fervent prayer entreated the Lord to direct him, they communicated their thoughts to each other, and were much strengthened in their purpose by the correspondence of their views. A little incident, which occurred in the evening of that day, served still more to confirm them in the belief that their intentions were right. It was then customary at Herrnhut for the young men, after the labours of the day were over, to walk round the place singing hymns. It so happened, that one evening, while their design was still a secret in their own bosoms, Dober and Leupold were among a party of brethren, who in this manner closed the day. Passing by the house of count Zinzendorf he and the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer, who was with him on a visit, came to the door, and the count, addressing himself to Mr. Schaeffer, said: "Sir, among these brethren there are missionaries to the heathen, in St. Thomas, Greenland, Lapland, &c." This determined them to disclose their sentiments in a letter to the count, who rejoiced at their zeal, and encouraged them to commit their cause to God, that His purposes with them might be accomplished in his own time and manner.

Their letter was afterwards read to the congregation, without however mentioning the names of the writers. They declared themselves willing, even to sacrifice life in the service of Christ, and, should it be required, to sell themselves for slaves, if thereby they might gain but *one* soul for Him. Their object, however, was generally disapproved, being considered as the

effect of youthful, though well meant zeal, but not likely to succeed. Many objections were raised, and the difficulties of the undertaking represented in the strongest possible light. This opposition occasioned the delay of a whole year, which afforded ample time for all parties maturely to weigh the subject in all its bearings. Leonard Dober remained firm to his purpose, but, at the suggestion of count Zinzendorf, consented to have it decided by the lot, agreeably to the practice of the ancient Brethren's Church in the case of any important but doubtful enterprize. This was accordingly done and the lot decided, THAT HE SHOULD GO. All minds were now set at rest; and the congregation felt an inward conviction, that they were following the path of duty by aiming at the conversion of the Heathen. The success with which the Lord hath been pleased to crown their missionary labours, has fully satisfied the Brethren, that, in this instance, they rightly interpreted His will.

When Dober's letter, was read to the congregation, two young men, Matthew Stach and Frederick Boenisch formed the resolution of offering themselves as missionaries to go to Greenland. They were animated by the same spirit of piety and devotedness to God, as is evident from the relation given of it by Stach, who says: "The desire, which had been previously excited in my breast, of going as a missionary to Greenland, but which, from a consciousness of my own insufficiency, I had not disclosed to any one, was revived when I heard the letter of the two Brethren, who had offered their services for the conversion of the Negroes. I now disclosed my desire to Boenisch, and found that he was of the same mind. We both wished to act right in the sight of God, and fearing lest we should deceive ourselves by false impressions we agreed to seek the Lord's direction by fervent prayer, relying on his promise; "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing, that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven." (Math. xviii. 19.) We retired together, kneeled down, and entreated the Lord to make our way plain to us in this important business. We rose from our knees with the confident expectation, that he would direct our path; and

in this hope we made our wish known to the congregation, who expressed their joy at the offer."

In their case, as in that of the former, nothing was done with precipitation. The difficulties they would have to encounter in so inhospitable a climate as Greenland, were plainly told them, and a whole year elapsed before they were dispatched. This at length took place in January 1733; those going to the Danish island of St. Thomas, in the West Indies, had left Herrnhut on the 21st of August in the preceding year. And before the termination of the period included in this chapter, preparation had been made for Missions in North and South America. It is foreign to the author's design in the present publication, to give any detailed account of the proceedings of the Missionaries in pagan countries; * he may however, be allowed to close his relation of the beginning of this important undertaking, and which forms a very distinguished feature in the history of the *renewed* Church of the Brethren, by one or two general remarks.

The conversion of heathen to the faith of Christ, was a subject, which from various causes, and for a long period, had been almost entirely lost sight of by the Protestant Church. There existed indeed three or four Societies, who were incorporated for this very purpose; but their operations were little known in Germany. † The endeavours of the Rev. Hans Egede to christianize the Greenlanders, notwithstanding his persevering zeal, had hitherto been attended with little success. This state of things threw very serious obstructions in the way of the Brethren in their first attempts to propagate the gospel in heathen countries. The scheme was in general treated

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* For a detailed account of the Brethren's labours in heathen countries the reader is referred to *Crantz' History of Greenland*, *Loskiel's History of the Missions among the North American Indians*, and the author's *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the U. B.*

† The three English Societies, *For the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts; For promoting Christian knowledge;* and *For the conversion and religious Instruction of the Negroes in the British West India Islands:* and the Society in Scotland *For Promoting Christian Knowledge.*

with silent contempt or open ridicule; even persons, otherwise well disposed, raised serious objections against it. The first missionaries, therefore, met with little encouragement or assistance. This made Dober say, when on his way to St. Thomas: "I am astonished at myself, when I reflect on the object I have in view; yet I can do no other than simply follow my call, and thus obey what I believe to be the will of God." There were, however, honorable exceptions to this general indifference; and both the Missionaries going to the West Indies and those proceeding to Greenland, formed pleasing acquaintance on their road to Copenhagen, and still more during their stay in that city, with persons who cordially entered into their views, animated their faith and zeal when ready to droop, and assisted them with their prayers and charitable contributions.

While impediments from *without* had a natural tendency to damp the missionary spirit, just awakened in the Church of the Brethren; difficulties no less formidable, presented themselves *within their own circle.* The doubts, as to the propriety of the undertaking, had generally subsided at Herrnhut, and both young and old were desirous of preaching the gospel to the heathen; but its execution was not so easy. This required means with which they were but scantily supplied. The inhabitants amounted to about six hundred; but little wealth was found among them, for the greater part, though once possessed of considerable property, had forsaken all for the gospel's sake, and were earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. If there was no want of zealous and active men inured to hardships, willing to devote themselves to this service, they were deficient in that kind of learning, which the work they had undertaken seemed to require. And as it was an enterprise altogether untried, no one could give them much advice; wherefore they received no other direction from their Brethren, than to observe the leadings of Providence, to embrace every opportunity that offered, to gain access to the heathen, and to be satisfied if they could win but *one* soul for Christ.

It cannot be denied, that these difficulties impeded the early labours of the Missionaries, especially in some places. The

necessity, imposed on them, by the poverty of the Church, to support themselves by the labour of their hands, was attended not only with great personal inconvenience, but trenched upon the time and care, which ought to have been solely devoted to the duties of their proper calling. Their want of a liberal education rendered the acquisition of foreign and barbarous languages, like the Greenlandic, Arawka, and others very difficult, retarded the translation of the holy Scriptures into those languages, and thereby deprived them of the principal means of conversion. Lastly the novelty of the work, in which they had had no predecessors or at least none, by whose advice and example they could profit, rendered them liable to commit mistakes, both in the mode of preaching to the Heathen, and conducting of the missionary service in general.

Considering these and many other disadvantages, with which the early Missionaries of the Brethren's Church had to contend, the pious observer of their proceedings will be excited to devout acknowledgments for the grace of God, which attended their labours. He will glorify God for their disinterested zeal, their patient self-denial, their unremitting exertions, and their persevering constancy, which, being induced and influenced by the love of Christ, no adverse circumstances could extinguish. And now, when the character and work of a Missionary are honoured, when his temporal comforts are liberally supplied, and when in the Brethren's Church as well as in other Christian communities, provision is made for his acquiring a competent knowledge of human learning; may the spirit, that animated the fathers of the Brethren's Church, descend to their latest posterity; may they deem it an honor to bring the free-will offering of their gold and silver, and esteem it an exalted privilege, to behold their sons and daughters, imbued with the true spirit of the gospel, consecrate themselves to this service. Thus will the Brethren's Church continue to take its full share in this blessed work.

## SECTION VII.

*The Brethren renew the ecclesiastical Constitution of their Ancestors—Obtain episcopal Ordination—and adopt the Augustan Confession of Faith.*

The agreement of the inhabitants of Herrnhut to the Statutes of the congregation,* the regulations introduced into the settlement, and the remarkably blessed celebration of the Lord's Supper on the 13th of August, 1727, had powerfully tended to allay dissensions: yet something was still required to give stability to the union.

This was an ecclesiastical Constitution, which might serve to put a stop to disputes about church government and discipline. On these subjects the inhabitants were divided in their opinions. Some were for a complete and unreserved union with the Lutheran Church, others pleaded for retaining the peculiar regulations already made at Herrnhut, together with the use of the public ministry and the sacrament in the parish church.

But neither of these proposals satisfied the Moravian emigrants, who continually insisted on restoring the ecclesiastical government and discipline of their ancestors. They did not object to the doctrine taught in the Lutheran Church; for in every essential article of faith, they cordially agreed to it: but they censured its laxity in discipline, and the consequent dissolute lives of many of its members, both among the clergy and laity. "Of what use is it," said they, "that we have left house and home for the sake of religion? What benefit do we derive from our constitution, which is older than any other Protestant form of religion, which Luther himself so highly commended, for the preservation of which our forefathers risked their lives, and which they bequeathed to us as a sacred deposit?" They roundly declared, that, if it was deemed impolitic or dangerous, to grant them that liberty at Herrnhut, they would go and seek it elsewhere.

Count Zinzendorf, who, both from education and principle,

* See p. 201.

was firmly attached to the Lutheran Church, long opposed the wish of the Moravians; but as they urged it again and again with so much earnestness and cogency of argument, he resolved to bring the matter to a final issue. For this purpose he submitted the following proposition to the Elders of the congregation: "Whether it would not be best, out of love to others, and in order to avoid giving needless offence to pious people in other denominations, and in the hope of conciliating all parties, to relinquish their peculiar regulations, and unite with the Lutheran Church without reserve?" This proposition was warmly opposed; they, however, consented to lay it before the Congregation Council, convened for that purpose, on June 7th, 1731. This meeting expressed its disapprobation of the proposed measure in still stronger terms; and not only the Moravian emigrants, but nearly all the other members of the congregation, were decidedly against it. They asserted, that the constitution of the ancient Brethren's Church contained nothing that was repugnant to reason or the fitness of things, that it was consistent with apostolic practice, and the usage of the primitive Church, and that its utility was confirmed by the experience of nearly three centuries.

Count Zinzendorf still argued on the other side of the question, but, finding that he failed in carrying conviction to their minds, he suggested that the question should be submitted to a decision by lot. The whole assembly consented the more readily to this, because it accorded with the practice of the ancient Brethren. Agreeably to their custom two texts were selected and written on slips of paper. The one text was: "*To them that are without law* (become) *as without law; (being not without law unto God, but under the law to Christ,) that you may gain them that are without law.*" (1 Corinth. ix. 21.) And the other: "*Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which you have been taught.*" (2 Thess. ii. 15.) They had previously come to a mutual understanding, that if the latter of these texts were drawn, they were then to adopt the constitution of the ancient Brethren's Church; but if the former, they were to unite themselves with the Lutherans. Preliminaries being thus agreed upon, the assembly joined in

earnest prayer to the Lord, entreating him, as the Head and Ruler of his Church universal to counsel them according to his mind, vowing unreserved obedience to his will. Hereupon a little child was called in, and directed to draw one of the above texts. The one thus drawn was: *Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which you have been taught.* This decision was received by the whole assembly with expressions of joy and thanksgiving, as a clear intimation, that it accorded with the Lord's purpose with them, that like their forefathers, they should be a people so entirely devoted to him, as to be ready to execute his will in all things, amidst evil and good report, and serve him to the utmost of their ability, by propagating the gospel at home and abroad.

In adopting this measure there is one circumstance which ought not to be passed over in silence; namely, the firmness with which the inhabitants of Herrnhut maintained their opinion, in opposition to count Zinzendorf. They owed him respect, both as warden of the congregation, and as lord of the manor.* They were indebted to him for the peaceful asylum and protection they enjoyed on his estate; and were ever disposed to treat him with that deference, to which his rank entitled him; to honor him as a father, and esteem him as a benefactor. But there was a point beyond which they could not carry their veneration,—a state of things, in which they would "call no man *father* upon earth." They shewed themselves the children of those, who formerly in Moravia had sacrificed every thing for the rights of conscience; and they acted in the spirit of their ancestors, being willing, if required, to yield to constituted authorities, by peaceably retiring from Herrnhut, and seeking religious liberty in another place. Whether the steps they took be approved or not, the spirit they manifested is justly entitled to praise. Their conduct likewise confutes an opinion, perhaps, not yet entirely exploded, that the Moravian

* In this and many other parts of Germany a nobleman, as lord of the manor, exercises a judicial authority over his tenantry, who are in a state of vassalage. He is a magistrate, can publish injunctions and prohibitions, and has his own courts for the trial of civil, and sometimes even criminal causes.

emigrants yielded *implicit* obedience to the dictates of count Zinzendorf, and that he was the *founder* of the Brethren's Church. How far he was from assuming any such authority, his own conduct, on this memorable occasion, plainly indicates. And however great the admiration, entertained by the Brethren, for his distinguished talents and eminent piety, their Church has never conferred any higher honor on his memory, than that of esteeming him a blessed *instrument*, in the hand of God, to raise her from her ashes, and *renew* her constitution.

The renewal of the ecclesiastical constitution of the ancient Brethren, was followed by another equally important event, the restoration of their Episcopal Ordination. Though this took place three or four years later, it was so much the natural consequence of the former, as to render it most expedient to introduce an account of it in this place.

It was soon found, that the constitution, adopted by the Brethren at Herrnhut, was incomplete. Agreeably to the usage of their forefathers they might compile a code of laws for the government of the members of their community, and elect persons from among themselves, to watch over their due observance. They might also appoint Elders to edify the Church by the Word of God. But the public opinion and general practice of Christendom, combined with the order of the apostolic and primitive age, required, that they should have regularly *ordained* men, for the performance of the ministerial functions of preaching and administering the holy ordinances of religion. This was becoming daily more necessary by the enlargement of their sphere of operation, and especially by the increase of their labours for the conversion of the Heathen.

It was not to be expected, that men who had received holy orders in other Churches, would be found willing to leave their own vineyard in order to cultivate that of the Brethren; nor that the Heads, or Consistories, of the Protestant Church, would confer this rite on men, whom the Brethren might propose to them as candidates for it.

These considerations at length removed the remaining scruples of count Zinzendorf, and convinced him of the necessity of taking this final step towards perfecting the ecclesiastical Con-

stitution of the Brethren, by procuring regular ordination for their ministers. Among the various forms of Church government, the preference was, by the majority, given to the *episcopal*, being that adopted by their ancestors,* and, according to their views, appearing most consonant to apostolical practice. For these reasons they agreed to take measures for renewing the Episcopacy of their Church. The line of Bishops in the Bohemian-Moravian branch of their Church had terminated in Amos Comenius, but the succession was still continued in the Polish branch, of which two bishops, or Seniors (as they were called in Poland,) were still living, D. E. Jablonsky, at Berlin,† chaplain to the king of Prussia, and C. Sitkovius, residing at Lissa in Poland.

To the former of these, the Brethren at Herrnhut were well known. He acknowledged them as genuine descendants of the ancient Moravian Church, and had repeatedly expressed his joy and admiration, at their zeal in propagating the gospel, and their earnestness in renewing the ancient discipline of their Church. In one of his letters, he speaks of them in the following terms: "This small Church consists almost entirely of Bohemian and Moravian exiles, who have collected together in this asylum (Herrnhut.) They, having been taught the practice of Christian principles by persecutions, and being arrived at this place, have laid aside all schismatical names and theological disputes, and are here growing together into ONE body, and praising God with one mouth and heart. They profess the faith which worketh by love; insomuch that we may easily discern in them the genuine descendants of those who entered into the agreement of Sendomir.‡ This circumstance deserves to be fully known to the Christian Church." ‖ With this worthy prelate count Zinzendorf entered into correspondence, relative to the episcopal ordination of the ancient Brethren's Church, which terminated in a declaration on his part, that he was willing to confer this dignity on any of their descendants at Herrnhut, who should be duly qualified, and

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* See page 52. † See page 132. ‡ See page 108. ‖ Crantz's History of the Brethren, page 141, *Note*.

presented to him for that purpose. David Nitschmann sen.* having been duly elected for this office, was sent to Berlin, and after several interviews with Doctor Jablonsky, who examined into his faith and other qualifications, was by him consecrated, a Bishop of the renewed Church of the Brethren.

This transaction was performed at Berlin on the 13th of March, 1735, in the presence of several witnesses, and with the concurrence of bishop Sitkovius of Lissa: each of whom furnished him with a certificate, delegating to him authority to hold Visitations, to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and perform all such functions as belong to a bishop (or senior and antistes) of the Church. †

While this occurrence excited the liveliest joy and gratitude among the Brethren; it increased both the open hostility and secret displeasure of many in the German Protestant Church. The former discerned in it the over ruling hand of a gracious God, who, having implanted in their breasts a desire to propagate his gospel throughout the world, had provided for them the means by which *external* sanction and authority were given to their undertakings. Those on the contrary, who were not well disposed towards the Brethren, charged them with a design of breeding a schism in the Church. Nothing however could be more remote from their intentions. Even the Moravian emigrants, who were the most strenuous advocates for the restoration of their ancient ecclesiastical Constitution, declared again and again, that they would never separate from the Protestants in the doctrines of the gospel, but would ever study to maintain the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace, with all who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity. But this declaration, however often and solemnly repeated, had not the effect, either of silencing the calumnies of their open enemies, or of satisfying persons, otherwise well disposed, but who viewed their proceedings through a distorted medium.

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* A brief account of his early life is inserted p. 187. He accompanied the first missionary, Leonard Dober, to St. Thomas.

† Crantz, p. 197.

With a view of exonerating themselves from the charge of schism, and of confining salvation within the pale of their own Church, the Brethren had, as early as the year 1729, and before they adopted the resolution of renewing the ecclesiastical constitution of their Moravian ancestors, compiled a public instrument, signed by eighty-three brethren, and countersigned by count Zinzendorf and the Rev. Mr. Rothe, in which, after detailing the circumstances that led to the building of Herrnhut, and affirming that they were no Separatists, &c. they proceed to state their sentiments at large. The principal of these are: "That the Church of the Brethren in Moravia, from which they descended, had been acknowledged by the Reformers, as agreeing with them in doctrine, and differing only in constitution, which they had no need to vindicate, as it had been highly approved and commended by Luther himself, and by other Reformers. They were no violent Hussites or disorderly persons, but descended from the Brethren's Unity at Lititz; yet did not rest their hope on natural descent, but laboured to lay a sure foundation for their justification."—Further they affirm: "We acknowledge none for Brethren, in any Christian denomination, who, having forfeited their baptismal grace, are not washed from sin by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, renovated in heart by the Spirit, and following after sanctification. We acknowledge no visible Church of Christ, but where the Word of God is taught in purity, and whose members lead a holy life. Yet we will not be separated from any one, in any Christian community, who truly believes in Jesus Christ his Lord; though he may in some instances interpret the Scriptures differently from us." They finally declare: "that the loss of life and property is not to be compared with the denial of the least divine truth—and that they consider the Augsburg Confession as an excellent, and concise exposition of the essential doctrines of Christianity."

In order to omit nothing, which under existing circumstances, appeared requisite for satisfying even the most scrupulous minds on the propriety of their conduct, the following enquiry was in 1733 submitted to the theological faculty in the University of Tuebingen: "*Whether the Moravian Brethren, (pre-*

*supposing their agreement with other Protestants in the evangelical doctrine,) might preserve and adhere to their own ecclesiastical discipline, which had existed for three hundred years, and notwithstanding this might maintain their connection with the Protestant Church?*" The Brethren furnished the faculty with every necessary document to assist them in their deliberations. Their answer was couched in the following terms: "On receiving the important enquiry, submitted to us, we have not been wanting in duly weighing all the reasons for and against it, but have considered it in all its bearings, and in the fear of the Lord. And having in a conference of the whole faculty, freely communicated our thoughts to each other; we have, solely in the hope of promoting the glory of God, and the good of his Church, *unanimously* agreed on the following decision: "*That the Moravian Brethren, (pre-supposing their agreement with the evangelical doctrine,) may and ought to adhere to their known ecclesiastical discipline and regulations, which they have had for three hundred years, and notwithstanding may maintain their connection with the Protestant Church.*"*

Although these negociations took place before the Brethren had obtained their own episcopacy; yet their sentiments on the subject of their union with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches remained unaltered. And when in the sequel their sphere of action was enlarged, by their forming settlements in different countries, and by the increase of the members of their Church by persons of various religious denominations; they did not in the least deviate from that truly Catholic spirit, but exercised the utmost Christian charity towards all, who from the heart believed in the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation, and evidenced their faith by works of love. Hence, when a minister joins their Church, who has previously received ordination in any other Church, he is allowed to exercise the functions of the sacred ministry without being *re-ordained* by *their* bishops. Neither is any private person, on connecting himself with their Church, required as it were, to abjure his former religion, because his sentiments and mode of expressing himself on doc-

* Select Narratives, Vol. I. Part II. p. 137.

trinal subjects are not exactly the same. If, however, an individual, applying for admission to their Church, has previously belonged to a society, who hold erroneous doctrines, maintaining opinions contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and subversive of Christian morality, the Brethren justly expect, that he renounce his doctrinal errors, and prove his change of mind by obedience to the moral precepts of the gospel.

This truly Catholic spirit has been attended with very beneficial effects to the Church of the Brethren. It has preserved its members from sectarianism and bigotry, and from angry controversies among themselves and with other Christians on subjects, which relate, either solely to the externals of Christianity, or to doctrines too deep to be fully understood by man in his present state of imperfect knowledge. Hence it is not unusual in the Brethren's Church, especially on the Continent, for men to exercise the ministry with edification to their flocks, who differ in sentiment on those tenets, which distinguish the Lutherans and Reformed, or Calvinists. In all the regular settlements of the Brethren, persons live together in Christian unity, who, from education or other circumstances, have a predilection for the tenets of the Lutheran or the Calvinistic Church. If such persons, in their daily intercourse with each other, find, that this diversity of opinion on some controverted subjects of theology, or the mere circumstantials of religion, may exist with the most scriptural faith in Jesus and with the purest Christian morality; the natural consequence is, that a disputatious, sectarian and bigotted spirit will give place to a meek, humble and tolerant disposition. In such a congregation, provided its members submit to the teaching of God's Spirit, the asperities of prejudice, and the obstinacy of private opinions will yield to the softening influence of the gospel. Such were the effects, produced by the conciliatory measures, adopted by the renewed Church of the Brethren in its very infancy; and they have not been diminished. On the contrary the increased acquaintance and connection the Brethren formed in Great-Britain, America, and other countries, with pious persons of various religious denominations, satisfied them that all minor differences may be successfully merged in the Christian character, when faith, hope, and charity predominate and sway the conduct.

Let it not, however, be thought, that the Brethren, in their zeal to avoid a sectarian spirit, ever carried their liberality so far, as to make it a matter of indifference, what a man believed, or how his faith influenced his conduct. God forbid! there are doctrines so essential to salvation, and works so intimately connected with faith, that, unless a man believes the former, and does the latter, he cannot be a *Christian*. Faith in the essential doctrines of the gospel, and the evidence of its reality in a holy life and conversation, have ever been, and still are, the substance of the Brethren's preaching and the only test of any person being a genuine member of their Church: These doctrines they profess to derive from no other source, than that which is open to all Christians, the HOLY SCRIPTURES. They declare in the Statutes of their Church: "The HOLY SCRIPTURES are and remain the *only* touchstone and rule, by which our doctrine must be examined, and our whole lives regulated."*

This would have been sufficient, as far as their own Church was answered; but circumstances required, that they should state their views of Scripture truths in a more explicit manner, to satisfy the enquiries both of friends and opponents. To meet the wishes of friends and confute the calumnies of enemies, it became necessary to digest their doctrinal opinions into a brief compendium, similar to the confessions of faith of other Protestants. But to frame a new confession was repugnant to the feelings of the Brethren, who wished to abide in union with all Christians of every name, and, as far as possible, to avoid even the appearance of schism and sectarianism. They, therefore, resolved, with the cordial consent of all the inhabitants of Herrnhut, whether descended from the Moravian, the Lutheran, or the Reformed Church, "*To receive the doctrinal articles of the Augustan confession, so as they were read, on the 25th of June, 1530, in the German language, before the electors, princes and (deputies of) cities, and delivered to his Imperial majesty, Charles V.* BECAUSE THEY ARE ACCORDANT WITH THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.†

* Statutes of the Protestant Unity of the Brethren. Part I. § 2.

† Crantz's Hist. of Brethren, p. 343. The *Augustan Confession* agrees also with the *Thirty-nine articles of the Church of England*, in every

The Brethren gave the preference to this confession, on account of its accordance with the Holy Scriptures; and because the essential articles of the Christian faith are stated in it with remarkable plainness and precision.* Their adoption of this confession was of much importance in their future labours in different countries. According to an article in the Westphalian treaty of peace, no Protestants were protected in their religious liberties in the German empire, but those who professed to adhere to the Augustan, or the Helvetic, Confession. In the Danish and Swedish dominions, the Augustan Confession is the authorised standard of the national Churches. It was also well known, and its excellency acknowledged in Holland, Great-Britain and other countries. Moreover it admits, that an *uniformity of external regulations and ceremonies is not essential to the unity of the faith.* This concession operated in favour of the Brethren, whenever the peculiarity of their discipline was urged as a plea against their orthodoxy. Thus, in all their negociations with foreign Churches and States, they have uniformly appealed to this confession, as the standard by which their doctrine and practice are to be tried, in *subordination* to the Holy Scriptures, which are the only *infallible* rule.

Upon the whole then it is evident, "that the sacred bond which unites the members of the Brethren's Church, consists neither in a uniform adherence to certain external regulations and ceremonies, for these, unless positively enjoined in the

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essential doctrine of Christianity. Any difference, which may appear, consists rather in expression than in the doctrine itself. The same remarks apply with scarce any exception to its agreement with the Helvetic Confession, or the articles of the Reformed French Church. Any person who will take the trouble of comparing these confessions, will be convinced of the truth of this remark.

* On this subject the Synod of 1818 declares: "The Protestant Church of the Brethren adheres to the twenty-one Doctrinal articles of the Augustan Confession, because they contain a confession of faith, consistent with the Holy Scriptures. And though we do not wish to burden men's consciences, yet no one shall be allowed to *teach* in our Church, who publicly propagates opinions contrary to the doctrines taught in the Augustan Confession. *Syn. Resol. of* 1818. *See also, Statutes of Unity.*

Word of God may be changed, nor in an identity of religious sentiment and language on *every* possible subject of Christian faith; for in this respect the opinion of the Christian Church, and the ideas of its individual members, have at all times been diversified. But the union of the Brethren is maintained by an accordance of the heart with evangelical truth and its effects, as taught in the Holy Scriptures. It is the unity of the Spirit, and the concord of religious principle and feeling."*

The importance of the subject, it is hoped, will justify the length to which this discussion has been carried, especially as it continued for a series of years, to attract much attention, particularly on the continent, whenever the Brethren extended their labours into *new States.*

## SECTION VIII.

*Continuation of the History—Arrival of more Emigrants—A Royal Commission visits* HERRNHUT—*Count* ZINZENDORF *resigns his Office in the Regency of* DRESDEN—*Assumes the clerical Profession, and is ordained Bishop of the Brethren's Church—Arrival of the Rev. Mr.* SPANGENBERG *at* HERRNHUT.

DURING count Zinzendorf's journey to Copenhagen in 1731, above seventy new Moravian exiles had arrived at Herrnhut. This excited observation, and the count was accused of sending emissaries into Moravia and Bohemia, to seduce people to emigrate. He complained of the injustice of this charge to the Imperial father confessor, Tannemann, and likewise vindicated his conduct to the court of Saxony. It is probable, that the emigration from Moravia would have excited little attention, had it not been followed by the emigration of many thousand Bohemians, who retired into Prussia and America. A colony of these people for some time settled at Great Hennersdorf, under the protection of lady von Gersdorf, aunt of count Zinzendorf. A misunderstanding between them and her ladyship occasioned the abandonment of this colony; and the court of

* Ratio Disciplinæ U. Fr. p. 161—162.

Saxony issued a mandate, prohibiting all Lords of Manors in Upper Lusatia to receive any exiles from the Emperor's dominions on their estates. Concerning these emigrations from Bohemia it is only necessary to state, that neither count Zinzendorf, nor the Brethren at Herrnhut, had in any degree promoted them. A very small part only of these exiles afterwards formed a connection with the Brethren's Church; as will be seen in the next chapter.

Suspicions to the contrary were, however, entertained by the adversaries of the Brethren; and many other equally unfounded and extravagant reports were circulated respecting the establishment at Herrnhut. A commission was therefore appointed by the court of Saxony, for investigating these accusations. This was the very thing the Moravians desired, as they were kept in a state of suspense, fearing, that, if credit were given to these charges, they would be deprived of the protection of government, and sent back to the house of bondage.

This examination was committed to baron von Gersdorf, lord lieutenant of the principality of Goerlitz. He was accompanied by his secretary. They arrived at Herrnhut on the 19th of January, 1732, and on the next day, being Sunday, attended Divine Service in the parish church, and were present at all the public and private meetings held at Herrnhut, in which not the slighted alteration was made. On Monday, after the usual morning prayers at 5 o'clock, the whole congregation assembled in the chapel. Baron von Gersdorf opened his commission with a short address, and then interrogated the Moravians one by one,* concerning their awakening, their former sufferings, the cause of their emigration, the design of their present regulations, &c. The whole of these proceedings was carefully minuted by his secretary. He likewise had private interviews with the Elder, Martin Dober, and the parish minister. The following day he visited the public buildings at Herrnhut, and was present at a catechetical examination of the children.

* There were upwards of three hundred persons present, who had come from more than twenty different places; forty of whom had suffered imprisonment.

After his return he addressed a letter to the Brethren, in which he expressed his entire satisfaction, his high esteem for count Zinzendorf and the Elders of the congregation, and his very favorable opinion of its members. This encouraged them to hope, that they might now enjoy rest and quiet from without. But as the king of Poland, who was also Elector of Saxony, soon after died, their hopes were diminished. On applying to the new Sovereign for his protection, his answer was, that he would grant the Moravian exiles a residence in his dominions, *as long as they should demean themselves quietly and peaceably*. This answer was not satisfactory, because their enemies might succeed, by foul misrepresentations, to accuse them of disturbing the peace of the Church. In order, therefore, to be prepared for any emergency which might occur, the inhabitants of Herrnhut divided themselves into two classes. The one comprehended those, who were natives of Germany, and educated in the national religion. These resolved to stay. The other embraced the Moravian emigrants. These prepared themselves, if need should require, to break up their tents and form colonies in other countries; hoping thereby to be made instrumental in providing asylums for such of their countrymen, as might be induced to follow their example; and likewise in diffusing the knowledge of the gospel among the Heathen. Though the execution of this precaution was never rendered necessary; yet it serves to shew the high value they placed on religious liberty.

The same year a material change took place in the life of count Zinzendorf, of which it is necessary to give a more circumstantial account, as it had a very important influence on the affairs of Herrnhut, and eventually on the concerns of the whole Church of the Brethren. He executed a design he had long meditated, of resigning his office in the regency at Dresden and assuming the clerical profession. As a preparatory step to this, he sold his estates, by a regular contract, to his lady. This freed him from the necessity of acting as a magistrate.* Soon after this he obtained the royal permission to resign his official situation in the government; and on the 8th

* See p. 223. Note.

of March, 1733, took leave of his colleagues in an address, in which he delivered his sentiments with great freedom. What were his own views and feelings in taking this step may be seen from the following extract from one of his letters :

" I have endeavoured to conform to what the Apostle Paul says ; ' No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.' My resolution is now taken, to renounce all worldly honors, ease and protection ; and devote myself, with all I have, to my Creator, to become a disciple of the Lord, and to expect, that any apparent loss in temporals, will be made up to me, in some way or other, in the clerical state. For the future I am free to serve the Lord, wherever he may employ me : I have now only to care for the things of the Lord. If my wife, children and parents die before me, I may indeed be reduced to great poverty ; yet I have nothing to fear, while God preserves my health, because I can maintain myself by the labours of my hands, like thousands besides, among whom there are many disciples of the Lord. And should sickness, or age, render this impracticable, I rely on the word of Jesus ; ' Take no thought for to-morrow ; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.' I also renounce all the honors and prerogatives of my rank. I have found it difficult to remain in my present official situation, because I have daily met with occurrences, which made me fear I should act in opposition to the precept of the Lord : 'They that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors : but ye shall not be so !' At court I have resembled Mordecai, and I did not always find it easy to make ministerial firmness agree with the meekness of a disciple of Christ, and this has been a hindrance to my advance in the religion of the heart. Sometimes when I ought to have sought for victory by patient endurance, I have endeavoured to obtain it, by making use of my civil prerogatives ; but I have not always succeeded. Other and greater sufferings, such as have befallen my brethren, may await me in future ; but I lay aside the armour of Saul, and choose Him for my defence, who gave strength to the Shepherd's boy." *

* State of the kingdom of the Cross. p. 113.

Being now set loose from all worldly engagements, he took serious measures for accomplishing his design of becoming a minister of the gospel. In Germany, where it very rarely happens that a nobleman devotes himself to the sacred ministry, various obstacles presented themselves. He, therefore, went first to Stralsund, where he was unknown. Here he engaged himself as private tutor in a merchant's family, assuming the name of Mr. Von Freydek.* Some days after his arrival he waited on the Rev. Mr. Langemak, superintendent of the Lutheran Church, to whom he made himself and his intentions known, and accepted his offer to preach for him on condition that his real character should not be divulged, in order to avoid all needless observation. The superintendent also consented to his request, to be examined by him, in presence of the Rev. Dr. Sibeth. This examination commenced on the 18th of April, 1734, and was continued in several conferences. The issue was, that the Divines in Stralsund gave a very favorable testimony of count Zinzendorf and the doctrines held by him. The strictness with which the examination was conducted, may be seen from his own relation of it. "I told them," said he, "both by word of mouth, in writing, and in five sermons, all I had ever believed or taught, in theory or practice, during my whole life, and, as far as I could recollect, all the mistakes I had made. I candidly disclosed all my sentiments, even those, which I thought might excite doubts and scruples. But this did not alter their favorable opinion of me."†

The following extract from their written testimonial shows the good opinion they entertained of count Zinzendorf and his benevolent exertions. "We have rejoiced, and praised God for the good done by the count at Herrnhut; and his great solicitude to lead back into the right way, those who have erred, has confirmed our confidence in him. In all his discourses and conversations we have discovered, sincere love for the truth, great zeal for the glory of God, and the most fervent

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* One of the titles of the Zinzendorf family.

† Crantz's History of Brethren p. 175, where the heads of the subjects discussed at these conferences are inserted.

desire to convert those who have swerved from the right faith. We can, therefore, with a good conscience and agreeably to truth, testify before God and his Church, that his Excellency, count Zinzendorf, has not dissented from the Protestant Church, in which he was born and educated, but agrees with us in every essential doctrine, and ought to be considered as a true member of this Church. His private opinions on certain subjects, as they do not involve any essential doctrine, and therefore are not heterodox, ought to be tolerated in the spirit of meekness and brotherly love, and not to dissolve the bond of peace and the unity of the spirit among us. The sincere wish and prayer of our hearts is, that the God of truth, of love and of peace may strengthen and preserve his Excellency, and impart unto him, from on high, a rich increase of grace and spiritual blessings, to qualify him for his important and beneficial undertakings. May he grant to the Moravian brethren and the whole congregation at Herrnhut, daily supplies of grace, protection and divine assistance; may he grant them rest and peace, that they may walk before him in love and sincerity, and as his willing people serve him with alacrity in the beauty of holiness, &c."

His next step was to apply to the university of Tuebingen, for their opinion concerning his assumption of the clerical profession. He himself repaired thither towards the close of 1734, and presented a Latin Declaration to the theological faculty, setting forth his motives and intentions in devoting himself to the ministry. In this Declaration he says: "I was but ten years old when I began to direct my companions to Jesus, as their Redeemer. My deficiency in knowledge was compensated by sincerity. Now I am thirty-four; and though I have made various experiences; yet in the main my mind has undergone no change. My zeal has not cooled. I reserve to myself liberty of conscience; it agrees with my internal call (to the ministry.) Yet, I am not a free thinker. I love and honor the (established) Church, and shall frequently seek her counsels. I will continue as heretofore, to win souls for my precious Saviour, to gather his sheep, bid guests, and hire servants for him. More especially I shall continue, if the

Lord please, to devote myself to the service of that congregation, whose servant I became in 1727. Agreeably to her orders, under her protection, enjoying her care, and influenced by her spirit, I shall go to distant nations, who are ignorant of Jesus and of redemption in his blood. I shall endeavour to imitate the labours of my brethren, who have the honor of being the first messengers to the heathen. I will prove all things by the only criterion of evangelical doctrine, the HOLY SCRIPTURES. Among the brethren at Herrnhut and elsewhere I shall endeavour to maintain their ancient church-discipline. The love of Christ shall constrain me, and his cross refresh me. I will cheerfully be subject to the higher powers, and a sincere friend to my enemies." It closes with the words of the Psalmist, "I am poor and needy, yet the Lord thinketh upon me. He shall deliver the poor and needy." *

To this declaration the theological faculty returned a favorable answer, dated December 19th, 1734, formally recognizing count Zinzendorf as a minister of the gospel. After alluding to his benevolent exertions in behalf of the Moravian exiles, and his ardent zeal in serving them in the gospel, and to his conference with the divines at Stralsund, they thus proceed: "We confess that the novelty of the thing surprised us, and we were astonished to find the count resolve on taking a step, which is so contrary to worldly principles, and which, in a person of such exalted rank, is a proof of rare piety. Nevertheless, as no rank does necessarily exclude any one from preaching the gospel, or from holding the office of a minister, and as his lordship has publicly avowed his adherence to the doctrines of the Protestant Church, and as moreover his zeal for the glory of Jesus Christ is so ardent, that he has unreservedly dedicated himself to this blessed service; we feel no hesitation thus publicly to declare our entire approbation of the zeal which prompts him to consecrate his service to the edification of the Church of Christ. For, though in ordinary cases a regular vocation to the ministry be required; we do not see by what right any limits can be set to the course of the divine Word, and why duly qualified men, who are sound in

* Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf.

the faith, may not publicly proclaim the gospel, especially when done with the consent, and at the desire of the Church. A prohibition, in such a case, would be contrary to the usage of all the Protestant Churches, &c."*

It was objected to count Zinzendorf (at a later period) that his solicitude to be examined by Lutheran divines, and obtain their approbation of his entering the ministry, was needless. His reply was to this effect: "that his desire to preserve his connection with the Protestant Church, rendered it impossible for him to act otherwise." And it is not too much to assert that this circumstance was of considerable importance to the cause of the Brethren's Church in its first beginnings, especially on the continent.

On the fourth Sunday in Advent of the same year, he entered upon the regular discharge of the duties of the clerical office, by delivering two sermons in the church at Tuebingen. A few days after, he returned to Herrnhut. His transactions here and in other places, as far as they had any influence on the Brethren's Church, will be noticed hereafter. To keep up the connection of the subject, treated in this chapter, we proceed to narrate the circumstances, which led to his being ordained a bishop.

Count Zinzendorf arriving at Berlin in October, 1736, the king of Prussia, Frederick William, who had heard many unfavorable reports of him, invited him to an audience. During the conversations, which were continued for five days, the king made many minute enquiries concerning the doctrinal views of count Zinzendorf, the accusations brought against him, &c. At the close of these audiences, his Majesty expressed his entire satisfaction with the count's answers, and remarked: "the devil in hell could not propagate more wicked lies than his enemies had done." Addressing his courtiers, he added: "that he had been shamefully deceived; that count Zinzendorf was neither a heretic nor a revolutionist, that his only crime was, that being a person of noble birth and rank, he had devoted himself to the ministry." He finally assured the count of his entire

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* Ibidem.

confidence, and his readiness to serve him whenever it was in his power. The sequel of the history will shew that this was not an empty compliment.

In his audiences with the king, his Majesty recommended to him to receive regular ordination, which would not only give more external sanction to his ministry in the Church, but greatly facilitate his exertions for the propagation of the gospel in foreign countries. This recommendation coincided with the wish of the count himself, and with the opinion of the Brethren at Herrnhut. As a preliminary step to this he solicited the king to order two of his chaplains, who were deans of the Lutheran Church, to examine him, respecting his orthodoxy and fitness for the sacred functions of a bishop. These divines being fully satisfied on these points, his Majesty commissioned his first chaplain, Dr. E. Jablonsky, the last surviving bishop, or antistes, of the ancient Brethren's Church, to consecrate him a bishop of the Unitas Fratrum. In his letter to Dr. Jablonsky, on this subject, his Majesty writes as follows: "If their testimony" (that of the two Lutheran deans,) "be favourable, as I hope it will, you may ordain him, agreeably to his wish; for I am myself of opinion, that the clerical profession is very honourable, and degrades no one." To the count himself his Majesty wrote to the following effect:*

"Most noble and very dear count! I make known to you by these presents, that, according to the promise I made you, I have this day given orders to my first court chaplain, Dr. Jablonsky, to ordain you, agreeably to your wish, *in private*, an antistes† of the Moravian Brethren and their congregations. You will, therefore, confer with him on what may be further necessary. I am with much esteem, your very affectionate,

Potsdam, May 15th, 1737. Fr. W."

Before Dr. Jablonsky proceeded to the act of consecration, he consulted his colleague in Lissa, bishop Sitkovius. In his answer he declares, his cordial approbation of the act to be performed, adding, that as he could not be personally present,

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* Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf.

† A title given by the Brethren in Poland to their bishops.

he would affix his sign manual to the instrument, and in spirit witness the solemn transaction, and accompany it with his prayers."

After this the consecration took place at Berlin, on May 20th, 1737, in the house of Dr. Jablonsky, in presence of some Brethren from Herrnhut. The first bishop of their renewed Church, David Nitschmann, assisted Jablonsky by imposition of hands, and also joined him and Sitkovius in affixing his signature, agreeably to the canons of the ancient Brethren's Church, to the certificate of consecration, given to count Zinzendorf.

The ordination of count Zinzendorf to be a bishop of the renewed Church of the Brethren, afforded sincere joy, not only to those whom it more immediately concerned, but to many others, both high and low, who esteemed him more for his zeal in the cause of God, than his elevated rank. The day after it had taken place, the king of Prussia sent him a letter of congratulation, written with his own hand, in which he thus expresses his good wishes: "It was with satisfaction I learned, that, according to your desire, you have been consecrated bishop of the Moravian Brethren. That this transaction may turn out to the glory of Almighty God, and the salvation of many souls, is my heart's desire. I am always your very affectionate, Fred. William.—Potsdam, May 21st, 1737."

Similar marks of esteem he received from other persons of distinction. We shall only refer to two, which possess peculiar interest; the one written by Dr. Potter, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other by Sitkovius, who styles himself, "Bishop of the Unity of the Moravian Brethren in Great Poland and Prussia."

The archbishop of Canterbury's letter is as follows: "John, by divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, To the Right Rev. Count Nicholas Lewis, Bishop of the Moravian Church, sendeth greeting.

"Most sincerely and cordially I congratulate you, upon your having been lately raised to the sacred and justly celebrated episcopal chair of the Moravian Church, (by whatsoever clouds it may be now obscured,) by the grace of divine Providence,

and with the applause of the heavenly host: for the opinion we have conceived of you does not suffer us to doubt it. It is the subject of my ardent prayer, that this honour, so conferred, and which your merit so justly entitles you to, may prove no less beneficial to the Church, than at all times acceptable to you and yours. For, insufficient as I am, I should be entirely unworthy of that high station, in which divine Providence has placed me, were I not to shew myself ever ready to use every exertion in my power, for the assistance of the universal Church of God; and especially to love and embrace *your* Church, united with us in the closest bond of love; and which has hitherto, as we have been informed, invariably maintained both the pure and primitive faith, and the discipline of the primitive Church; neither intimidated by dangers, nor seduced by the manifold temptations of Satan. I request, in return, the support of your prayers, and that you will salute in my name, your brother bishop, as well as the whole Christian flock, over which Christ has made you an overseer. Farewell. Given at Westminster, the 10th of July, 1737."

From the letter of Sitkovius we subjoin the following extracts:

"The lineaments of our primitive Bohemian Church discipline, which I perceive in the constitution of our worthy Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut, have produced in me a secret veneration for the holy zeal, which has moved your lordship, not only to make your territory a refuge for these pilgrims, but also opened your heart for the brotherhood, yea even to consecrate yourself to be their antistes. Your lordship's condescending to receive our well-grounded and successively continued ordination, shews to me the hand of God, who seems to lay with it the foundation of a solid and extraordinary propagation of the glory of his great name. The Lord our God be praised, who has raised you up to be a chosen instrument to proclaim his name to the Heathen, before kings and the spiritual Israel. May He endow you with the power of the Spirit, that you may go forth in his strength, and bear fruit, and that your fruit may remain. May the Lord have mercy on all Christendom; may he deliver it from the deceits of human wisdom, which fill the head and leave

the heart empty, and bring it back to primitive apostolical simplicity and godliness, that, disregarding the shell, it may seek the kernel, and retracing its erring steps, may walk in unity. May the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, grant to us, in all our places, the knowledge of his truth, that we may lead godly lives, be diligent in business, patient in tribulation, skilful in the conflict, and victorious in the end."*

A few years prior to count Zinzendorf's ordination, one of his most intimate friends, the Rev. Mr. Spangenberg, arrived at Herrnhut. The insertion, in this place, of a few notices of his early life will render the subsequent account of his diversified and laborious services, in the Brethren's Church, more interesting.

August Gottlieb Spangenberg was born in the year 1704, at Klettenberg, in Holsatia. He was scarce a year old, when he was deprived of the care of his mother. His father, George Spangenberg, was a clergyman of the Lutheran Church, a laborious parish minister, and a bold confessor of the doctrines, taught by the father of the Reformation. Of this he gave a decided proof, when attempts were made to introduce into the public service of the Church in Holsatia, a Hymn-book replete with the errors of Socinianism. He boldly opposed the measure, and his opposition proved successful.

The care of such a father for the temporal, and still more, for the spiritual welfare of his four sons, of which the subject of this sketch was the youngest, may be readily anticipated. But they did not long enjoy the tender solicitude of their father, as it pleased God to remove him to a better world, when his son August Gottlieb was only ten years old. After this mournful event, young Spangenberg was placed in the academy at Ilefeld. He had not been long here, when he and his brother were reduced to extreme indigence, the whole of their property being consumed by fire, at a time when they particularly needed it, in order to prosecute their studies. "This event," says he, "cost me many tears, yet I have afterwards learnt to view it as a benefit." And that it really was so to him is undeniable. It taught him in early youth to be satisfied with the bare necessa-

* Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf, p. 1061.

ries of life, gave him a taste for that frugal economy, which, without being parsimonious, avoids all superfluity, and imbued his mind with peculiar pity for the poor. In his diversified services in the Brethren's Church he was brought into situations, when he could apply to himself the language of the Apostle: "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content: I know both how to be abased and how to abound; every where and in all things I am instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." (Phil. iv. 11, 13.)

Little is known of his academical years. He was commended by his superiors for his diligence and proficiency in his studies, and considered a virtuous and pious youth; but by his own confession was not deserving of this praise. "I was a wicked boy," says he, "and in early youth my heart deviated from the principles of Christ. What God saith of the human race, was strictly applicable to me: 'the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth'." He describes his situation, especially after he had attained his fifteenth year, as a constant repetition of sinning and repenting, an incessant conflict between the flesh and the spirit, elated with hope whenever for any length of time he had been enabled, as he judged, to lead a pious life, and cast down with fear, when he had neglected his religious duties, and yielded to temptation. In a word, he endeavoured to establish his own righteousness; "for I knew not then," says he, "that pardon of sin and deliverance from its power, are to be obtained solely through grace, by faith in the atoning sacrifice of Jesus."

In his eighteenth year he left the Academy of Ilefeld, and removed to the university in Jena. The selection of this university, in preference to any other, was always considered by Spangenberg as a most gracious providence. It not only afforded him equal facilities for the prosecution of his studies, but he was here placed in a situation, which possessed peculiar advantages for the attainment of sound scriptural knowledge and solid piety. The theological chair was filled by men of extensive erudition and enlightened evangelical principles.—

Among these Dr. John Francis Buddeus deserves to be especially mentioned. He united rare literary talents with a high veneration for the holy Scriptures. He loved peace, and endeavoured in the religious controversies of his day, to avoid extremes on either side, intent on promoting, in himself and others, true godliness in theory and practice. In him Spangenberg found not only an excellent teacher, but a father and guide of his youth, who took a pleasure in advancing his true interest. Discovering in his orphan pupil superior talents, close application, and evidences of incipient piety, he not only favored him with his friendship, but admitted him to his house and table, and continued these benefits to him till his death in 1729.

Spangenberg knew how to appreciate this kindness, and faithfully assisted his patron in his correspondence, and in preparing various works for publication. About the same time he received, without any solicitation on his part, an annual stipend from an unknown friend. Thus did God care for him in his poverty, and supply him with the means of acquiring a rich store of literary knowledge, which afterwards was consecrated to his Saviour, and thus rendered his services eminently useful. At a late period of his life he refers to this unexpected help, in a letter to the grandson of his benefactor, in these words: "You and your worthy family have a peculiar claim on my gratitude. Permit me to recal the events of past times. I studied in Jena, and lodged in the house of Dr. Buddeus. Here I was taken ill, and nearly destitute of human aid, for I was poor. A gentleman visited me, whom I had not seen before, and who could have very little knowledge of me. He conversed with me in a very affable and encouraging manner, and on going away put as many dollars on my bed, as he could hold in his hand, and from that time till his decease, allowed me a yearly stipend. This was your honored grandfather."

He left the academy and arrived at Jena in no enviable frame of mind. He had sufficient light to see he was a sinner, deserving eternal punishment, and that he needed a Saviour, but the way of coming to that Saviour, and finding in Him

pardon and deliverance from sin, was not clear to him. On these important subjects, it pleased the Lord to open his eyes, while at the university. After various conflicts he experienced that change, which in biblical language is called "passing from death unto life." To use his own expressions, "he highly valued the free grace of our Saviour to forgive our sins, when we come unto Him, and cast them into the depth of the sea; nor did he less value that divine power, by which we are delivered from the dominion of sin, for he felt himself liberated from its thraldom and from the galling yoke of Satan." This led him to form a resolution, not hastily nor inconsiderately adopted, but one, which he had maturely weighed in all its bearings, which had been the subject of many and earnest prayers, and to which he was moved, both by a sense of duty, and still more by love and gratitude, to devote himself, with all the powers of his mind and body, to that Saviour, who had shewn him such great mercy. And, through the grace of his Lord, he remained faithful to that resolution, to the end of his earthly pilgrimage.

The change thus wrought in him was soon observed by others. He carefully avoided every temptation, which might dissipate his mind and seduce him to sin. He forsook his former associates, and was forsaken by them. The world and its pleasures lost their charms, and its vanities became tasteless. He rejoiced in God his Saviour, and took peculiar delight in contemplating Him in his state of deep humiliation, as the man of sorrows who expiated human guilt; his ardent longing was, that that mind might be in him, which was in the man Christ Jesus, and that he might resemble him in humility and abasement. "I counted it all joy," says he, "to be deemed a fool for Christ's sake; and this honor was liberally conferred on me."

His studies hitherto had been prosecuted with a view to the profession of the law; but an apparently accidental occurrence gave them an entirely new direction, and determined him to exchange the bar for the pulpit. He was induced one day to attend the theological lecture of Dr. Buddeus. The subject was, "Paul in bonds for the gospel's sake." The Doctor in-

troduced the following remark: "A student of theology, who intends to become a servant of Christ, must expect to suffer many things for his word and name's sake. Unless a man's mind is fully prepared for this, it were better for him not to pursue this line of study." Such a remark seemed more likely to deter from the study of theology, than to encourage it. On the mind of Spangenberg, however, it had a contrary effect; and determined him to relinquish the profession of the law, in which he might have attained honours and wealth, and adopt one, which seemed to promise little else, than reproach and poverty. He says himself: "The impression made on my mind by this discourse was such, that I instantly resolved to devote myself to the study of divinity, being fully determined to serve the Lord Jesus with all fidelity, and cheerfully to suffer for his sake. As soon as the lecture was over, I shut myself up in my chamber, fell prostrate on my face, and with many tears promised my God and Saviour, to dedicate myself to His service."

From that moment he bent all his energies to this new pursuit, made himself well acquainted with the various branches of literature connected with the study of theology; and his acquirements were of a superior kind. One thing must not be omitted here, as it places the originality of the man in a very striking light. In commencing his new studies he adopted a method entirely new. Instead of perusing a learned system of divinity he took the Catechisms of Luther and Spener, and employed some hours each day in their perusal. He carefully compared each answer with the Bible, to see if the definition, given of any subject, harmonized with the Word of God, and if the texts referred to were conclusive. Being satisfied on these points, he examined himself, whether he received that truth in faith, and regulated his life by it. He was firmly persuaded, that the study of divinity, if not a mere pretence, is a matter of experience, founded on the Holy Scriptures; and for this reason the Bible was his constant companion, and continued so through his whole life. His sermons and other publications evince his thorough acquaintance with it.

In 1726, he took the degree of Master of Arts, principally

because it authorised him to deliver lectures in the university, and enlarged his general sphere of usefulness. Two years after, he formed his first acquaintance with count Zinzendorf, and some Moravian brethren, who passed through Jena on their way to England. The value he attached to this acquaintance is evident from his own words: "I shall thank the Lord for it," says he, "while I live; for I am fully convinced, and make this confession before God, that I consider my acquaintance with the Brethren as the means by which our Lord Jesus Christ has preserved me in his truth. I had sufficient opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with them, for whenever they came to Jena, they lodged at my house." His attachment to them and their cause was considerably increased during a visit he paid to Herrnhut, in 1730.

To return to his situation in Jena. From the day of his graduating in the university, his labours were almost incessant. His lectures were eagerly attended by the students; he was the main spring in keeping the free schools* in proper activity, and he made them subservient not only to the education of poor children, but to the training of schoolmasters. Many pious citizens likewise sought his advice, to whose spiritual instruction he devoted no small portion of his time; and to these labours must be added his public services in the ministry. The fame of his literary talents, and still more of his piety and indefatigable zeal to promote true godliness, soon spread to other places, and procured him many advantageous offers. But he declined them all, assigning as a reason: "that in Jena he received *no* stipend, in other places he would receive TOO MUCH. Such places could easily be filled, while it was to be feared, that his place at Jena would remain unsupplied." In 1732, the directors of the Orphan house in Halle deemed it requisite to appoint a special director of the educational department of that extensive institution. Their choice fell on Mr. Spangenberg, and in order to increase his respectability, the heads of the university at the same time appointed him Assistant Theological Professor. A regular vocation was accordingly for-

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* See page 214.

warded to him. On receiving the letter he hesitated, and without hastily either accepting the vocation, or finally declining it, he committed it in prayer to the Lord, hoping that, by some providential leading, His will would be discovered to him. In the mean time he accompanied count Zinzendorf on a visit to the Rev. Superintendent Steinmetz at Neustadt upon Aich. While here, he received a letter from Halle, inclosing the royal patent from the king of Prussia, investing him with the office of Assistant Theological Professor.

This was considered by Spangenberg as an intimation of the divine will, and he determined to accept the vocation. His feelings on this occasion may be seen from the following extract of a letter written to his brother George soon after his arrival: "I could not conscientiously decline the proposal of going to Halle, because there I shall meet with much opposition, find a great deal of work, receive a comparatively small recompense, and have the greatest possible opportunity of serving my Saviour. I soon found, that I had a large field to cultivate, both in the church and school, which was overgrown with thorns and thistles."

His removal from Jena, however, was delayed for some time, partly because he could not immediately procure a person to supply his place, and partly because he first paid a visit to Herrnhut. He entered on his labours with his accustomed zeal and punctuality, and with a fair prospect of usefulness. In a short time, however, he found himself involved in an unpleasant controversy, which finally led to his expulsion from Halle. To enter into the merits of the controversy, would be of no use at this distance of time, and, especially to an *English* reader, could afford neither instruction nor amusement. Suffice it to say, that there was too much irritation and pertinacity on both sides. This Spangenberg candidly acknowledged on his part, in a farewell letter, addressed to the directors of the Orphan house, in which he asks their forgiveness, &c. Though the proceedings against him were unwarrantably severe, he viewed them as permitted by God, to extricate him from a situation, which might have become a snare to him by flattering his vanity, and creating a desire after riches and worldly

honors. On this subject he says himself: " I was received in Halle like an angel of God, and commendations and praises were heaped upon me. This threw me into the greatest distress, and I cried day and night to the Lord to preserve me from the honors of the world. God did deliver me, and my imprudence and indiscreet conduct became the means. Glory be to his name for my deliverance."

The esteem in which Mr. Spangenberg was held, as a man of extensive erudition, sound piety, unimpeachable conduct and ardent zeal in the service of God, was almost universal. His expulsion, therefore, excited very general sensation. On the day of his departure from Halle, a vast concourse of people, consisting of students and persons of both sexes and every rank, assembled at his lodgings, and conducted him through several streets, past the Orphan house, to the gate of the city. The following circumstance, which in other respects might be deemed trivial, displays the peculiar texture of his mind, and how completely free he was from the love of money, even at a time, when most other men would have been ready to yield to anxious thoughts respecting futurity. The evening before his departure the young gentleman, at whose house he lodged, handed him fifteen dollars, being the grateful offering of an unknown friend; but Spangenberg positively refused accepting them. Ten dollars, presented to him by one of his colleagues, he accepted with great reluctance, but no sooner were they in his possession, than he distributed them among the poor. Thus were his services in Halle, terminated in little more than six months after his arrival.

Having spent some time with his friends at Jena, he set out for Herrnhut, where he arrived towards the end of April, in 1733. Count Zinzendorf was absent, and knew so little of Spangenberg's dismissal from Halle; that at the very time, when it took place, he had sent him a written invitation, in case his connection in Halle should be dissolved, to come to Herrnhut and assist him in the work of God in that place. This letter Spangenberg had not received. The count's astonishment, therefore, when, on his return to Herrnhut, he met his friend there, may be easily conceived; and they both re-

cognised the leadings of divine Providence in what had happened. Spangenberg's intention was to have spent, at least some time, in privacy and retirement, but his talents were too well appreciated by a community, determined to consecrate their all to the advancement of Christ's kingdom, to permit such a man to remain in a state of inactivity. By unanimous consent, he was appointed one of the Elders of the congregation. He did not accept this office without mature deliberation, and earnest prayer to the Lord to direct his steps. On this subject he writes: "I considered this appointment as wisely directed by our Saviour, not because I was qualified or sufficient for it, but in order that I might learn how to behave myself in the congregation, which is the house of God." From this time forward, we behold Spangenberg employing all his talents, for a series of sixty years, with a zeal and devotion equalled by few, in the service of the Brethren's Church.

## SECTION IX.

*Regulations made at* HERRNHUT *among the unmarried men and women—Expediency and beneficial Effects of these regulations—Character of some of the Elders, and their service in the congregation.—Doctrines principally insisted on, and the spirit generally prevailing in the Brethren's Church at the close of this Period of their History.*

THE various *regulations* made at Herrnhut, in the hope of thereby promoting godliness, and preparing its inhabitants for becoming useful and devoted servants of God, were not formed at once, according to a preconcerted plan, but arose out of circumstances, gradually developing themselves. Some of these as far as they were of a permanent nature, and in the sequel had an influence on the whole Church, have already been noticed. One or two others, made rather later, but attended with considerable advantages, ought not to be overlooked.

Among the inhabitants of Herrnhut were many young unmarried men, whose number, in 1730, exceeded one hundred. They were all mechanics, and either lived with their parents, or lodged in other families. In some instances this was not

only inconvenient but likely to expose them to temptations, especially in those families, where there were young unmarried women. In order to obviate these difficulties, to remove suspicions, and to prevent, as far as possible, whatever, through the weakness of human nature, might be an occasion to sin, a separate habitation was, at the suggestion of count Zinzendorf, provided for such young unmarried men, as were willing to avail themselves of it. By this regulation, they had daily opportunities to edify one another, and to be united together in true brotherly love. It is stated in the diary of Herrnhut; that the spirit of grace and supplication was richly poured out upon them, and there was hardly an individual, who did not consider it his special calling to stand ready to be employed in the Lord's service, at home or abroad.

With a view of affording them the means of acquiring such a general knowledge of the sciences, as is more or less indispensable to a labourer in Christ's vineyard, they received instruction in languages, Geography, History, and Physic, count Zinzendorf himself assisting in their instruction. As they had to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows, the hours devoted to study could only be gained, by curtailing the time allotted to sleep. Yet, by indefatigable diligence, by conning over their lessons while occupied at the loom, or other manual labour; by engaging in study solely for the Lord's sake, and by asking and obtaining aid from him, the attainments of some of them were very respectable, especially their knowledge of the original languages of holy Writ, and theological subjects in general.* In proportion as the cause of the Brethren extended, it became more and more indispensable, that those, who were its principal agents, should possess a competent share of human learning. For, in almost every case, when the Brethren formed a new settlement, or sent deputations to different countries, or commenced a new mission, those who were employed in these undertakings, were required

* In this respect, the first missionaries of the Brethren, who were sent out before this regulation was made, (e. g. to Greenland,) labored under greater disadvantages than their successors.

to undergo an examination before some learned divines. And it is a pleasing circumstance, that, however meanly they might be thought of by some, as being mere mechanics, they were, in every instance, dismissed with marks, or testimonials, of approbation, as it respected their attainments and fitness, even, when for other reasons, their petition was not granted.

About the same time, a similar regulation was made among the young unmarried women at Herrnhut, at their own request. Influenced by the same desire of keeping themselves unspotted from the world, a number of them, in 1733, moved into a house fitted up for them, where they made their own domestic arrangements. And this regulation, like that among the young men, conduced very materially towards promoting their growth in spiritual knowledge and piety, and preparing them, as far as was proper for their sex, for active service in the Church.

These regulations have ever since been retained in the renewed Church of the Brethren, and in every regular settlement,*

* It may here be necessary to inform the reader, that in the technical phraseology of the Brethren's Church, the name of SETTLEMENT is exclusively given to a colony formed by themselves, and inhabited solely by members of their Church. Such a settlement consists, besides family houses, of the following public buildings: a chapel with adjoining dwellings for the minister and elders, a Single Brethren's House and a Single Sisters' House, frequently also a house for Widows of ministers and others, School-houses for boys and girls, and an Inn for the accommodation of travellers. In some settlements boarding-schools have been established. Such settlements are Herrnhut and many others on the continent; Fairfield, Fulnek and Okbrook in England, and Gracehill in Ireland. The inhabitants of these settlements, whether married or single, men or women, follow their various occupations *on their own account*, and nothing like a community of goods exists in any of them. It is, however, expected that all the inhabitants will take a voluntary share, according to their ability, in defraying the necessary public expenses, and as good citizens be amenable to the municipal regulations of the settlement. No one, of course, is compelled to remain an inhabitant of the settlement against his will, nor does his removal from it deprive him of his connection with the Brethren's Church, provided his moral character be unimpeachable.

An establishment of the Brethren in a town or village, where they possess only a chapel, and perhaps a school-house, is called a Town congregation, or a Country congregation, where the members of the Church live among their fellow-citizens or villagers. This distinction should be kept in mind in perusing this History.

houses have been built for the accommodation of the unmarried men and the unmarried women, called *Single Brethren's* and *Single Sisters' Houses.* These houses have hitherto furnished the greater number of missionaries, employed among the Heathen, and also many other useful servants in the labours of the Brethren's Church at home.

Here it may be proper to obviate a misconception. To a more casual observer these institutions might assume the appearance of monasteries. But nothing is further from the truth. Here is no vow of celibacy, or any other vow; nor are any, whether males or females, compelled to enter these houses against their will; neither is the piety of the inhabitants of these houses considered of a superior order to that of others. The egress is open to all, whenever they wish to avail themselves of it, without thereby incurring the censure of the Church.

The appointment of *Elders* to direct and superintend the concerns, both spiritual and temporal, of the congregation, has been mentioned above. The importance of this office, as influencing the general course of the congregation, was very considerable, requiring, on the part of the Elders, besides competent knowledge and sound judgment, a rich measure of the graces of the Spirit, so as to gain the esteem and confidence of the other members of the Church, and "have a good report of them that are without." These are qualifications at all times required in an Elder, but doubly so when called to exercise that office in a Christian society, which is still in its infancy, and whose religious character is not yet completely formed. This was the case at Herrnhut; and it is pleasing to find, that the divine Head of his Church raised up men, from the exiles of Moravia, whom He endowed with the needful gifts for this office. However diversified their dispositions and acquirements were, it may, with truth, be said of them all, that, in the discharge of their official duties, they sought not their own but the things of Jesus Christ. With the character of some of these Elders the reader is already acquainted; but it is presumed, that the following short notices of one or two more will not be uninteresting.

Martin Dober was descended from a Bohemian family, who for the gospel's sake, had left their native country, and settled in the principality of Dettingen, where Martin was born, in the year 1702. He came to Herrnhut in 1724, and four years after was chosen Elder. He followed the occupation of a potter; but, by close application and diligent study of the holy Scriptures, acquired so much knowledge of theology, that he acquitted himself with credit in his examinations before several universities. Being sent as deputy from the Brethren's Church to Rendsburg, he was called before the royal Consistory, and examined by the Superintendent general,* the Rev. Mr. Conradi, at whose request he delivered a discourse extempore, on the divine work in the conversion of a sinner. All present were satisfied, and the superintendent gave him a written testimonial, couched in very favourable terms: "Dober," says he, "possesses no inconsiderable knowledge of the original tongues of holy Writ, has a clear and penetrating insight into the doctrines of faith, and much solid experience of the leadings of divine Providence, together with the gift of expressing his ideas with order and perspicuity."

In a letter to a friend, who was not a member of the Brethren's Church, Dober gives a short account of his conversion; of which the following is an extract: "I have from childhood lived among pious people, who, separating themselves from the rest of the world, endeavoured to lead religious lives, spent much time in singing and prayer, wore mean apparel, were charitable to the poor, and, on these accounts, exposed to various sufferings; but they wanted saving knowledge and living faith in Jesus, and consequently had no power to subdue their secret propensities to evil. They were, of course, unable to point out to their children, wherein real conversion consists. Thus I spent my youth, till I was twenty-one years of age, in great distress and inquietude of mind. My ideas of true religion were constantly vacillating. At one time I fancied it consisted in charity, at others in self-denial; then again I thought

* The Lutheran church in Holsatia is governed by Superintendents and Superintendents general; their authority corresponding to that of Bishops and Archbishops.

humility was every thing, or the being despised and persecuted for righteousness' sake, &c. But I obtained no peace for my heart, till I came to Herrnhut. The doctrine I heard in this place opened my eyes. I was taught that no man can obtain true peace of mind, till, by faith in Christ, he is reconciled to God; and that nothing short of living faith in Jesus, can save or justify a sinner. This truth penetrated my soul, and I saw at once wherein I was deficient. My resolution was taken, henceforth to relinquish all striving in my own strength, and not to rest until I could believe unto righteousness. Thus I obtained rest for my soul, could call Jesus *my* Redeemer and brother, and his Father *my* father."

Dober was highly esteemed at Herrnhut for his talents as a preacher and expounder of the Scriptures. A minister once put the question, how those meetings were conducted, at which the *potter* (meaning Dober) was the teacher? He received for answer: "When a lesson is read from the Old Testament and expounded, the *potter* in general makes use of a *Hebrew* Bible. When he is absent, count Zinzendorf or the Rev. Mr. Rothe supplies his place; but the *potter* is the most acceptable to the congregation." Dober's discourses aimed at the reality of religion, and seldom failed to reach the heart; which made count Zinzendorf say: "When Dober opens his lips in the meeting, his words flash into the soul like lightning."

For a number of years he testified with great power, the gospel of the grace of God. His talents as a preacher were in some degree diminished by close application to study, and the learning of languages; but his gifts for the due execution of the office of an Elder remained unimpaired, till his death, in 1748.

Martin Linner, likewise a descendant of the ancient Brethren, arrived at Herrnhut, in 1728, and, though a young man, was in the year following chosen Elder of the congregation, to supply the place of Melchior Nitschmann, who had died in prison. He manifested such unfeigned love to Jesus, and such a sincere and ardent desire to imitate the example of his Saviour, to deny himself, take up his cross and follow his divine Master, that he gained the esteem of the whole congregation. He devoted his attention more particularly to the young men,

and was one of the principal promoters of the regulation made among them, as mentioned above, and moved into the house, provided for their accommodation. He had previously, from disinterested love to his neighbour, given up his profitable business as a baker to another brother, who found it difficult to maintain himself by his trade. And that he might not be burdensome to the congregation, he relinquished his right to support as an elder, and earned a bare sufficiency by wool combing. His sentiments on this subject deserve to be transcribed. "I believe," says he "that if I curtail my own comforts from love to my brother, and in order to assist him, our Saviour will help me wonderfully also in temporals; and should I even suffer want, I am very well content."

Such was his self denial, that, from a wish, perhaps overstrained, to fare no better than the poorest of his brethren, he lived very abstemiously, and never slept in a bed, but on the bare boards. This, together with constant mental exertion, undermined his constitution and, in 1733, totally destroyed his health. The day before his departure he wrote the following letter to the congregation. "My heart rejoices when I behold you, because the voice of Jesus has been heard among us; it hath taught and animated us. Beloved brethren and sisters, you know by what wonderful leadings of providence you have been brought together. You have chosen me for your Elder; and I can truly say, that I have accepted the office with fear, but in obedience to you, and I feel that the spirit of the congregation has supported me. If I now call myself to account how far I have faithfully discharged the duties of my office, I sink down with shame at the feet of Jesus, and likewise before you." At these words the pen dropped from his hand, through weakness. He spoke little, only now and then exclaiming; "My Saviour, thou knowest I have nothing beside thee. Thou knowest I love thee with my whole heart." With a mien expressive of the inward rapture of his soul, he awaited his dissolution, which took place on the 26th of February, 1733, in the 29th year of his age.

Some of his letters have been printed, and as they throw considerable light on the *spirit*, which prevailed among the Brethren at this period, we shall give a few extracts from them.

In a letter, addressed to the congregation, while on a journey, he writes: "I praise our Almighty Saviour, who gives you the victory over those enemies, which lurk in your own bosoms, and who makes you more expert in subduing the crafty wiles of the destroyer of our spiritual fellowship. Suffer not yourselves to be moved from your steadfastness by the powers of darkness. May every one of you strive to exhibit to the world some likeness to our Saviour; that being conformed to *His* image you may, without words, preach to one another by your works. Show that you are strong in the spirit, whenever the necessities of the congregation require the exercise of wisdom, patience, long-suffering, and love. O! my beloved, why do any halt between two opinions? Do ye not see, that those who have only the form of godliness, torment themselves, and never have any pleasure in their work? If you do not experience, that the strength of the Lord is made perfect in your weakness, you have cause to examine yourselves, whether you implore his aid with a contrite and sincere heart, or pray only from custom. Grieve not the holy Spirit, by causing sorrow to those, who labour among you, for that is not profitable for you. Redeem the time, which the Lord grants you, for your days on earth may be few. May our Lord Jesus Christ subdue all hardness of heart, by the might of his Spirit, that you may have confidence on the day of his appearing. By the grace of our faithful Saviour, may we all be *one* in him, and may the bond of unfeigned brotherly love be more closely knit. May strangers, who visit us, be living epistles, that we are a work of God's own hand, &c."

To a professor of divinity in one of the German universities, and who, in company with some others, had visited Herrnhut, he writes: "Glory be to our mighty Deliverer, who hath subdued the spirit of self in us, and purified our hearts, that he may dwell and rule and govern there. How happy is he, who, wearied with the yoke of the law, is born again by the Spirit, and obtains power cheerfully to obey the law of God according to the inward man; then the fire of the Lord consumes the hardness of the heart, and the reality of the change, in the renewed man, evidences itself in love, meekness, and patience.

O how blessed are the ways in which our Saviour leads us! Let us then follow him like good children, for he is our All and in all. Nothing, therefore, should hinder us to magnify the Lord, with deep reverence day and night, to resign ourselves unreservedly to Him, that he may lead us according to his will, and finally give us the victory. The Lord is our shield; and thereby we may quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one; and gratefully proclaim, that Jesus is worthy to receive blessing, and honor, and glory, and thanksgiving, and power, and might. From him flow streams of love into our hearts. He gives us a constant hunger after him; He alone is that food which can strengthen and vivify our spirits. May the Lord confirm you in his love, that his truth may appear in you, to the glory of God at all times."

We add one more extract, as exemplifying the Christian plainness, with which he warned those, whose conduct dishonored their profession. It is taken from a letter written to a brother, who took offence at the faults of others. He thus addresses him: "I perceive you are beginning again to hold a parley with the enemy. Do you wish to be entangled in his net, and to have your mind darkened? Your taking offence at others becomes sin in you. The reason why a Christian takes notice of his brethren is, that he may assist them with good offices. This an unconverted man cannot do; he looks at others for the sole purpose, of observing their faults, that his own may appear less. As long as you do this, I think very little of your conversion. If you seriously examine yourself, you will find enough to take offence at; you will discover your *own* sins and misery, and that will be more profitable for you, &c."

These extracts are sufficient to show both the doctrines taught at Herrnhut, and their influence on the inhabitants. It is very evident, that the doctrine of the atonement of Jesus was made the sole foundation of the faith and practice of the Brethren. To the sacrifice of Christ alone, they looked for pardon and justification; but their views of sanctification were not as clear and evangelical, as they afterwards became. With the gospel, which points to the blood of Christ as the only source, both of pardon and cleansing from sin, they mixed some

mystical notions. Much was also spoken of the noble dignity of the human soul. They were agreed on the necessity of an entire devotedness of the heart unto God, and its renewal in righteousness: but the manner, in which many endeavoured to attain to this mark of true Christianity, was not in all respects purely evangelical. They showed great earnestness in fasting and prayer, in watching against every temptation to sin, and striving to be delivered from the effects of natural corruption. The discourses, addressed to the congregation, were doctrinal and instructive, but too diffuse, often lasting two and three hours, as it was thought necessary to enter into elaborate proofs of the doctrines, and refute every possible objection, which might be made.

This want of clearness in evangelical doctrine is not much to be wondered at, when it is recollected, that most of the inhabitants of Herrnhut had just escaped from the land of spiritual darkness, where the light of divine truth was not only obscured, but almost extinguished by human traditions. And even in Protestant Germany the native simplicity of the gospel had lost some of its lustre, by the introduction of scholastic divinity. Light is progressive; and so it was in the Church of the Brethren. Those, whom God honoured to be instrumental in its renewal, were true to their knowledge, and faithfully improved the light they had received. That light gradually increased, and even before the termination of this period of their history, they attained a clear insight into the doctrine of the atonement. By the illumination of God's Spirit they discovered the efficacy of this doctrine, when truly believed, to furnish them thoroughly unto all good works. It became to them the source, whence they looked for the pardon of their sins and acceptance with God, and derived both the will and the power to resist temptation, subdue the strength of innate depravity, and follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. They learned to rely for salvation solely on the grace of God in Christ Jesus, and from love to him to be fruitful in good works, as ordained by God, that we should walk in them.

Thus within the space of about fifteen years since the revival

of their Church, the Brethren had, by the grace of God, come to a mutual and unanimous understanding on the fundamental principles of their constitution, the essential doctrines of Christianity and their application to all the necessities of the sinner. Hereby they were prepared to be instruments in the hand of God for extending and building up His Church on earth, by successfully preaching CHRIST CRUCIFIED to Christians and Heathens.

# CHAP. II.

FROM THE ORDINATION OF THE FIRST BISHOPS TO THE DEATH OF COUNT ZINZENDORF. FROM THE YEAR 1736, TO 1760.

## SECTION I.

*Occurrences in* HERRNHUT—*Missionary Institution—Building of* HERRNHAAG—*Arrival of the first Emigrants from* BOHEMIA—*A party of them retire to* GERLACHSHEIM, *and connect themselves with the Brethren's Church*—JOHN GILECK.

SCARCELY had the important work of organizing the congregation at Herrnhut, and forming its ecclesiastical constitution on the model of the ancient Brethren's Church, been completed, before a storm gathered against it, which threatened its extirpation, before it had taken root and gained strength. The old accusation against the Brethren, and especially against count Zinzendorf, of inveigling people to emigrate from Bohemia and Moravia, was revived, and so strenuously supported by some of the count's personal enemies, * that the

* One of his bitterest enemies was a nobleman, who resided not far from Herrnhut. Count Zinzendorf endeavoured to obtain an interview with him; and, when he failed in this, he wrote him a very conciliatory letter, accompanied with a pamphlet, entitled, "Christian conversation." This was sent back unread, together with an answer couched in very unkind terms. After the lapse of several years this nobleman's eyes were opened, and he saw the injustice done to count Zinzendorf. He was confirmed in this conviction by the following occurrence. A

Government was induced to interpose its authority. A mandate was issued by the king of Poland, who was also elector of Saxony, ordering count Zinzendorf to quit his Majesty's dominions. At the same time a Royal Commission was appointed to examine into the state of things in Herrnhut. Contrary to the design of their enemies, both these measures tended rather to the furtherance, than the ruin of the cause of the Brethren. The Commission arrived at Herrnhut on the 9th of May, 1736. It consisted of Mr. Von Loeben, lord lieutenant of Upper Lusatia, Mr. Von Holzendorf, lord of the bed chamber, Dr. Heidenreich, first counsellor of the consistory, and the Rev. Dr. Loescher of Dresden, superintendent of the Lutheran Church. During a stay of nine days, they minutely examined into the doctrine of the Brethren, and all the regulations of the Settlement. The inhabitants made not the least alteration in any thing, and answered all the inquiries according to strict truth. Their final declaration, written in the name of the whole congregation, in order to its being presented to the king, closes with these words: "Should it please your Majesty to command us, either to give up our peculiar constitution, or to quit your dominions; we frankly declare, that we should choose the latter, and without the least disturbance retire from your territory in all stillness; nor should we be unmindful, as long as we live, of the favor we have hitherto experienced from your Majesty for more than ten years; nor cease to implore the divine blessing on your throne and sceptre." The Commissioners expressed themselves fully satisfied,

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fire broke out on his estate, which consumed all the out-buildings and offices, and considerably injured the mansion. On collecting his scattered papers, the first on which he laid his hands, was count Zinzendorf's letter, singed by the fire, but the writing perfectly legible. This increased his previous uneasy sensations; he hastened to Herrnhut, obtained an interview with the count, acknowledged with tears the unfairness of his conduct, and asked his pardon. A full reconciliation was instantly effected, and both parties continued, during life, to cherish the most unfeigned affection for each other. The former enemy became a steady friend, an active promoter of true religion, and a pattern of piety to his own family and tenants. *Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf, page* 964.

and in their report spoke in very honorable and approving terms of Herrnhut and its regulations.

Count Zinzendorf's exile from Saxony was followed by many important consequences to himself and to the Brethren's Church. The absence of the man, who had hitherto been its chief patron and supporter, from the centre of all its operations, could not fail to teach the inhabitants of Herrnhut, that the success and continuance of their undertakings did not depend on any individual, however deserving of their esteem and confidence, but solely on God, who not only works by any instrument he pleases, but may employ the same instrument to effect his purposes, whether present or at a distance from the spot, where humanly speaking, his services seem peculiarly needed. Such was the case here; and Zinzendorf's compulsory absence from Herrnhut became the occasion of extending the knowledge of the Brethren's Church, and increasing the number of her congregations in different countries.

However unmerited the severity of this measure was, as it affected the count himself, and however strong his regret on being compelled to leave his native country, which he loved with the affection of a true patriot, and to be separated from his Brethren at Herrnhut, endeared to his heart by many proofs of divine grace and power; yet God enabled him to bear the stroke with Christian meekness and fortitude. He received the royal mandate with profound submission, and made instant preparations for his departure. Some time after he sent a letter to the king, dated October 11th, 1736, from which we insert the following paragraph: "Should your royal Majesty, in your known clemency, thus far condescend to notice so humble an individual as I am, as to grant me the favor, which I have repeatedly solicited from your Majesty, and order an impartial investigation of all my proceedings within your Majesty's dominions; such a condescension would be a great solace to my mind, and demand the sincerest gratitude to God and your Majesty. I am now placed in a state of painful uncertainty, and without a permanent residence: yet I will not murmur at my lot, but endeavour to obey such orders as your Majesty shall be pleased to make, either now or at any future

time, with that profound respect and entire acquiescence, which I owe to my most gracious Sovereign."

In his conversations with David Nitschmann and other Brethren he avowed his firm belief, that his exile was divinely appointed for his own good, and that of the Brethren's Church. Some of his sentiments are noted by his biographer.* On one occasion he said: "It is a proof of self-love, when a person thinks, 'I will die in my nest;' and such an idea may have a baneful influence on his whole future life, make him a slave to his own will and domestic enjoyments, and circumscribe his usefulness in the Lord's service. "*That place* is our proper home, where we have the greatest opportunity of labouring for our Saviour." At another time he remarked: "Nothing is of real importance, but our salvation, and the blessing of this we may carry with us wherever we go."

The royal mandate arrived at Herrnhut during the count's absence, and was delivered to him at Cassel, on the 21st of April, 1736, by David Nitschmann. When he had read it, he said: "At all events, it will require ten years before I can permanently fix my residence in Herrnhut; for now we must collect a *Missionary* congregation,† and train labourers to go forth into all the world and preach Christ and his salvation." Impressed with this idea, he commenced that peculiar domestic establishment, which he continued with little variation for several years, and which, on account of its influence on the Brethren's Church in general, requires some explanation.

Viewing the Brethren's Church in no other light, than as an institution, revived by God for the special purpose of diffusing the knowledge of divine truth among Christians and Heathen, he considered himself solemnly pledged to see to it, that this its destination might be carefully attended to, and as far as possi-

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* Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf, p. 966, &c.

† The literal translation of the German name, *Pilger-gemeine*, the one adopted by count Zinzendorf, is *a congregation of pilgrims*, but as the use of the term is more limited in the English than in the German language, and consequently liable to be misunderstood by an English reader, the author has substituted the word *missionary*, which, in its present application, conveys a more correct idea of this institution.

ble faithfully executed. All the regulations made at Herrnhut, aimed at the attainment of this object. Hence it was the constant practice of the count to seek to discover the peculiar talents of each individual member of the congregation, and to pay more particular attention to those, who appeared qualified for service in the Lord's vineyard at home or abroad. When, therefore, he was no longer allowed to remain in Saxony, he saw no other way of attaining the proposed end, than by having, besides his own family, those persons constantly about him, who were under preparation for service in the Brethren's Church. These were occasionally joined by Missionaries returning from pagan countries, and by Brethren, coming back from their deputations to different parts of Christendom, who mostly remained with the count, till they resumed their former employment, or received new appointments. These persons constituted the MISSIONARY CONGREGATION, which, strictly speaking was never stationary; for whenever the count changed his place of residence, which he did frequently, the greater part of this company followed him; and either resided in the same house with him, or in separate lodgings.

In whatever place the Missionary congregation fixed its temporary abode, no regulation, considered essential to the constitution of the Brethren's Church, was set aside, but enforced with the same strictness as at Herrnhut. Special attention was paid to the design of this institution; and for this purpose whole days and even weeks were sometimes occupied in *Conferences*, for deliberating on subjects, bearing on the enlargement of Christ's kingdom in the world. A very extensive correspondence was carried on with servants of God in distant places and of various Christian denominations; and numerous visiters arrived almost daily, who came to see and hear for themselves. The sphere of the Brethren's labor was enlarging more and more, and thus there was no lack of suitable work for the Missionary congregation.

However singular and even objectionable this plan may appear to some, it was overruled for good, and made the means of extensive benefit. Yet it bore within itself the seeds of its dissolution. It was too expensive a scheme to be long support-

ed by so poor a community. This inconvenience was not immediately felt. Count Zinzendorf defrayed nearly the whole of the expense from his private purse, occasionally assisted by members of the Missionary congregation themselves, who possessed independent property, while others performed various menial services without recompence, which superseded the necessity of employing *hired* servants. The countess also, who herself superintended the housekeeping, directed the whole with so much prudence, that, without parsimony, every thing was conducted in that frugal manner, which was adapted to the future destination of the members of the family.

In a few years, however, the expense far exceeded the means. But a more serious evil threatened the institution. Persons became connected with it, who, on further trial, were found unfit for service in the Church, and others, when the first ardor had cooled, lost their zeal. In either case these persons by joining the Missionary congregation, were taken out of their proper sphere of life, which could not but prove injurious to themselves and others. This institution, therefore, terminated in a few years ; and the benefit for a while derived from it to the cause of the Brethren, has been as successfully attained, by means more accordant with the usual plan of God's providential government of his Church.

Not knowing whither to direct his course, after his return to Saxony had been imperatively forbidden, count Zinzendorf was providentially led into Wetteravia. Mr. Neuman, steward to the count of Meerholtz sent him a friendly invitation to come to him to Marienborn. He accepted the invitation and took up his residence in a very old and ruinous castle called Ronneburg ;* where he arrived on June 14th, 1736, his lady and children following him in July. Here he established schools for poor children, and provided food and clothing for them at his own expense. This was the first place of residence of the Missionary congregation.

Through the interposition of his father in law, Field-marshal von Nazmer, count Zinzendorf, after a short residence at the

* Ronneburg lies contiguous to Marienborn about 35 English miles from Frankfort on the Mayne.

Ronneburg obtained permission to return to Saxony. Of this he gladly availed himself, and repaired to Herrnhut on the last day of June. But, being required to make some concessions, which he could not conscientiously do, he returned to Wetteravia, and arrived at Ronneburg Castle on the 14th of December, 1737. Soon after, the purchase of a piece of land near the town of Buedingen being completed, a settlement of the Brethren was formed upon it and called HERRNHAAG. It was chiefly designed to be an asylum for persons, educated in the German Calvinistic Church, and persecuted on account of their connection with the Brethren. It was begun to be built in 1738, and on July 6th, 1740, was regularly organized as a congregation, in union with the Church of the Brethren. In a few years it contained a greater number of inhabitants than Herrnhut. In this place Boarding schools were established, and maintained at the count's expense, for the education of the children of such Brethren as were employed in the service of the Church at home and abroad, and thereby were prevented from paying due attention to the instruction of their children.

At the close of the year 1737, we find count Zinzendorf again in Berlin. Hither his lady and family and part of the Missionary congregation followed him. For their accommodation he hired a house. Several clergymen and persons of distinction having requested him to deliver public discourses, he applied to the king for permission, which was granted with every mark of favor and approbation. From the 1st of January to the 27th of April, he delivered sixty expository sermons on the second chapter of Luther's Catechism,* on the Lord's Prayer, and some other subjects. The concourse of people, consisting of persons of every rank, from the highest to the lowest, was very great. These discourses being taken down in short hand, were revised by himself and printed, with a dedication to her Majesty, the Queen of Prussia. During his stay in Berlin, measures were adopted for forming a union with some descendants of the Bohemian Brethren, many of whom lived in that city.

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* This chapter treats of Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification.

It has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, that when God visited the posterity of the Moravian Brethren, their fellow-confessors in Bohemia were influenced by the same spirit, and longed to escape from the house of bondage. As soon, therefore, as they heard of Herrnhut, and were visited by Brethren from that place, they began to emigrate in small companies. But not understanding the German language, they did not settle at Herrnhut, but repaired to Gerlachsheim,* where divine service was performed in the Bohemian tongue. The emigrations had continued for some time, without exciting much observation, till the year 1736, in the autumn of which a company of seventy-two Bohemians arrived at Gerlachsheim. This led to unpleasant consequences. The emigrants, to the number of four hundred, were forced to leave all their substance behind them, and in the depth of winter, seek an asylum somewhere else. They first retired to Cotbus in the Prussian dominions, where they intended to colonize, but in consequence of an order from the King, they proceeded to Berlin, and its neighbourhood. One party procured lodgings in the city; the other retired to the village of *Rixdorf*, where they founded a colony of their own, and engaged in husbandry. This latter party formed a union with the Brethren, about the year 1737, and Augustin Schultz, who had served them in the gospel at Gerlachsheim, was appointed their minister.

The descent of these Bohemians from the ancient Brethren's Church is traced by themselves in an account compiled by the oldest men among them, and inserted in Crantz's History of the Brethren. From this document the following is an extract:

"We and the greater part of the members of the congregations in Berlin and Rixdorf, came from the territory of Landscrone and Leutomischel, where the Unity of the Brethren commenced. Lititz, Kunewalde, and other places, which were then as well known as Herrnhut and Bertholsdorf are now, lie only at the distance of from three to twelve miles from our former abode. In Czerweny and Hermanitz, from whence

* Gerlachsheim lies in the district of Goerlitz in Upper Lusatia.

most of us came, and in many of the circumjacent villages, there have been places of worship belonging to the Brethren, which to this day retain the name of *Boatersky Zbory*, i. e. the Brethren's Meetings. Our fathers, who were well apprised of the difference between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and between the Calixtines and the Brethren, have informed us, that they were descended from the suppressed *Unity of the Brethren*. They likewise related many particulars concerning their regulations, and sufferings; and encouraged us to hope, that this Church would somewhere be renewed again, and that we, or our children, would be joined to it. As soon, therefore, as we heard of Herrnhut, (about the year 1725,) and were visited by some Brethren from that place, we were fully satisfied that these were the very people, to whom we belonged, and to whom we should go. Nor did we emigrate out of Bohemia, merely for the sake of liberty of conscience; but because we desired to be again united with our Brethren from Moravia." *

Besides the evidence, which this document affords, of the descent of the Bohemian emigrants from the ancient Unity of the Brethren; a no less decisive evidence of this fact may be adduced from the correspondence of principles and conduct between them and their confraternity in Moravia. The same spirit animated them both; and their bold confession of Christ, while it exposed them to the heaviest sufferings, was maintained with true Christian heroism by both. In confirmation of this, several extracts from the narratives of the lives of the Moravian emigrants have been inserted in a former part of our work; to which we shall now add a brief sketch of the persecutions, endured by one of the Bohemian confessors, JOHN GILEK.

He was born at Lubny in Bohemia, on the 30th of April, 1707. His parents, being suspected of favoring Protestantism, were narrowly watched, and his father was more than once in danger of being put in prison. Fearing that the morals of his son would be corrupted at a public school, he instructed him himself, and embraced those opportunities for impressing his

* Crantz's Hist. of Breth. p. 165.

mind with a sense of the love of Jesus, and his need of a Saviour. Unhappily for young Gilek, his father soon died, and he fell into the hands of irreligious people. He forgot the good impressions of childhood, and, to use his own phrase, "became a slave of sin." To dissipate the disquietude of his mind, he became a zealous Roman Catholic, and went on a pilgrimage, but without obtaining rest for his soul.

During this mental conflict, he formed an acquaintance with a family of evangelical principles. The mother of the family related many things of the former persecutions against the Brethren in Bohemia, and that for some time they had met in her house to read the Bible and pray. This brought his father to his recollection, whom he had often seen in tears, while reading in a certain book. After some time he succeeded in borrowing a Bible, and one of the Brethren's Hymn-books. The more he read, the more he was convinced of the wretched condition of his soul, and the insufficiency of pilgrimages, and all his past endeavours to procure salvation. He tore down the pictures and altars, he had put up in his dwelling, and cast the hymns used on pilgrimages, together with his ticket as a member of the brotherhood of St. Ignatius, into the fire.

He now resolved to leave the land of spiritual darkness, and, with the loss of all his worldly substance, to emigrate; content, if necessary, to live on bread and water. An opportunity for this offered in September, 1731, when a man came to Lubny from Gerlachsheim. On his return Gilek went with him. The sermons of Mr. Schultz, and his private intercourse with him and others, proved the means of conveying true peace and comfort to his mind, and he passed from death unto life.

Affection for his mother and other relations, and an ardent desire to be instrumental in their salvation, made him venture to undertake several journies into Bohemia, to assist them in their emigration. On one occasion he conducted a party of twenty persons. Five of these journies, which were always performed during the night, and by unfrequented paths across the mountains, had been safely accomplished. But, when he returned to Bohemia the sixth time in May, 1733, he was detected and put in prison. Here he endured, for upwards of two years, almost

incredible sufferings, but was enabled to bear a bold testimony of Jesus and his gospel, and was at length delivered from his persecutors in a very providential manner. The relation of these occurrences shall be given chiefly in his own words. After mentioning that his step-brother and his wife had intimated their wish to emigrate, he thus proceeds:

" I directly resolved to go, and set out with two Brethren from Gerlachsheim, and another Bohemian from Hennersdorf; but this time the Lord did not favour our undertaking; we were betrayed and imprisoned; and I had moreover to reproach myself, for not attending to a warning I had received in my mind, as will appear in the sequel. I was obliged to accommodate myself to the caprice of strangers, and go on an unknown road. Having reached the place where we intended to stop, we lay down in the hay-loft and fell fast asleep. In my sleep I dreamed, that I saw a Jesuit, accompanied by a grave-digger, riding on pale horses, and coming towards me. The Jesuit bade some boys conduct us to Leutomischel and cast us into prison. At the same time I seemed to receive three severe thrusts in my side, and to hear some one repeatedly calling to me: ' Make haste and depart: do not delay a moment!' I rose instantly, seized my staff and awoke my fellow traveller, telling him my dream. But he was angry, and said it was all fancy. This made me hesitate and I endeavoured to compose myself again to sleep. I had scarce closed my eyes, when I heard the trampling of horses, and, in an instant, a Jesuit and grave-digger rushed into the loft where we lay. Now my comrade would gladly have made his escape, but it was too late.

" I shall not attempt to describe the agony of mind I felt, because I had not been obedient to the warning given, and still more at the thought, whether I should faithfully confess the truth I believed, and the power of which I had experienced; or, whether I should be intimidated by the tortures that awaited me, and deny our Saviour. But God had mercy on me, and gave me such a deep conviction of the value of evangelical truth, that I determined rather to suffer any thing, than deny his Word.

" The Jesuit first took my New Testament out of my pocket; and then ordered the grave-digger and some lads to conduct

me to the gaol at Leutomischel. Being Sunday they conveyed me through a narrow gate, in order to avoid observation. We were confined in separate cells in the strongest part of the prison. I was thrown into a deep dungeon, where the instruments of torture were kept, an iron chain was fastened round my body, secured by four locks, and my feet were confined in the stocks. I was left without food for two days and a half, which, as I had eaten but little on the journey, weakened me extremely, brought on a very painful dysentery, and I began to fear they intended to starve me to death. In my distress I called on the Lord Jesus, entreating him to pardon all my sins and shew me mercy. He heard my prayer: and my soul was filled with joy and peace in believing.

"On the third day, the Jesuit brought me a small piece of bread, but no water. The bread, being hot out of the oven, produced a violent cholic, and frequent fainting fits. In this condition I was dragged before a council of priests, who put many questions to me, respecting the Church, the invocation of saints, purgatory, &c. all of which I answered according to my conscience. Hereupon, they offered me the vilest insults, denounced me an incorrigible heretic, and remanded me to my dungeon. In the afternoon of the same day I was brought up to the castle, to be examined by a gentleman. Two of my townsmen, who were zealous Roman Catholics, appeared as witnesses against me. As many of their charges were false, I could not forbear contradicting them. This so enraged the judge, that he ordered me to receive fifty lashes; but when he saw the mangled condition of my back, he desired the soldier to desist, and I was reconducted to prison.

"The next day I was brought to the Town-hall, being cited before the Common Council. Twelve gentlemen were assembled in a large hall, and I was seated before them. After interrogating me on the same charge as yesterday; they asked me, whether I had any complaints to make against the lord of the manor, to which I belonged, which might have induced me to emigrate, and why I had left the only saving Catholic Church? I replied, 'I have no complaint at all to make, either against my lord, the count, or against the Emperor, and

would, to this very day, have continued a loyal subject, could I have hoped for salvation, while remaining in communion with the Roman Catholic Church.' Hereupon they took great pains to convince me of my error, and told me so many absurd legends, that I could hardly forbear laughing."

For several days the same scenes were repeated, without, however, changing the mind of John Gilek; who, under all his sufferings, held fast his profession of faith. Many persons, suspected of heresy, were about this time taken up, which so crowded the prisons, and gave so much work, both to the clergy and magistrates, that Gilek was suffered to lie unmolested in his dungeon for several months. This was to him a subject of thanksgiving; and in blessed communion of spirit with his Saviour, he spent his time in meditation, prayer, and singing. One of his sharpest trials at this time was the liberation of Ostry, whom he loved with his whole soul, as a dear brother in the Lord, and his companion in tribulation, and whom he considered much stronger in the faith than himself. The Jesuits had intimated to Gilek, that Ostry had recanted. But this was a direct falsehood. The real state of the case was, that, knowing Ostry to be a man of learning, the priests had taken incredible pains to convince him of his supposed errors; but he had so completely refuted all their arguments, that they gave him up; and as they could accuse him of no crime, punishable by law, he was set at liberty.

Sometime after, the Jesuit renewed his visits to Gilek, hoping to extort a recantation from him. "On one occasion," says he, "the Jesuit asked me, if I did not think of soon returning to the Church, that I might not be eternally lost? I answered, 'I have no such thoughts, for I do not entertain the least doubt of the truth and consistency of my faith; whereas I have no certainty at all of the truth of the Roman Catholic religion.'—'What,' replied the Jesuit, 'We have the Apostles' faith; and I can recount to you all the bishops of Rome, from Peter down to the present pope, in regular uninterrupted succession.'—'Well,' said I, 'if your faith is the same as that of the Apostles, why do you not live and act like *them?* We do not read in their Acts or Epistles, that they *forced* people to

embrace their doctrine by *imprisonment*, and other *violent* methods.' To this he made no reply, but went away."

During the winter Gilek's sufferings increased. No victuals were allowed him, but a little bread and water, and these were frozen. His shirt was worn to shreds; and he had scarce any covering, which obliged him to lie day and night on his bed of straw, that he might not perish with cold. His narrative continues:

"While I relied for help solely on the Lord Jesus, I was enabled to bear up against all these hardships, for his strength was made perfect in my weakness. But in an unlucky hour I forgot my strong hold, and made a boast of my fortitude, saying, I would rather be starved to death than be conquered. That very evening three drunken servants of the priests, entered my cell, and began to dispute with me. I was indeed able to confute them; but I had lost my wonted courage, and was seized with pusillanimous fears. When they had left me, I began seriously to reflect on this occurrence. I wished to pray, but found no liberty. I had lost my confidence in our Saviour. This plunged me into the deepest distress, and I spent three whole weeks in a state of alienation of heart from God. At length Satan suggested the horrid thought, that the torments of hell could not exceed my present misery; I had, therefore, better rid myself of life. But, at that instant I heard, as it were, a whisper in my conscience, which seemed to say: 'Do thyself no harm; if the Lord Jesus bears with thee, resign thyself to his leading, and endure to the end.' My pride was subdued, tears of compunction and gratitude rolled down my cheeks, divine comfort and peace flowed into my soul, and my faith was strengthened anew. Yet the recollection of this occurrence even now excites the most painful sensations."

After Christmas he was removed into a large room, which was occasionally heated; a friend gave him a shirt, and the gaoler employed him in spinning. At first he considered this change as a great mitigation of his sufferings; but he soon found reason to wish himself back again in his dungeon. For this room being the common receptacle of robbers and murderers and the most abandoned criminals, they tried by every wicked scheme

in their power daily to vex his soul. Once he was in actual danger of his life, by having some soup offered him, which no doubt contained poison, for the bare smell produced violent vomitings. He therefore did not taste it.

At the end of summer, he was confined in another dungeon, which swarmed with frogs, mice, and other vermin. Every ray of light was shut out; and he was necessitated to lie constantly on the floor. After some time the Jesuit renewed his visits, and feigning to pity his wretched condition, offered to pray with him. This Gilek declined, saying, "How can we pray together, seeing we are not agreed? You, Sir, would pray for my return to your religion, and I should pray God to give you true faith. In this case how could we expect to be heard?" The Jesuit went away in anger, and did not repeat his visits for some weeks. Meanwhile Gilek was twice cited before the bishop of Chrast, who was then in Leutomischel, and in the beginning of winter, was again lodged in the large room. By this time the second year of his confinement had elapsed; and his accusers were no less desirous of making an end of it, than he was himself. The means they took to effect this, are thus related by him: "They again resorted to threats and violence. One day, about midnight, the eldest judge entered my apartment, in a state of intoxication, accosting me with this question: 'Gilek, what faith do you hold?' I replied, 'the evangelical.'* Hereupon he gave me such a violent blow on the head, that I fell to the ground, and remained senseless, till roused by several strokes of his cane. He then asked, whether I would turn Roman Catholic; and, on my refusing, ordered his servant to give me immediately thirty lashes. Being too weak to stand, I fell on my face to receive them, silently crying for help to the Lord. Suddenly the judge changed his tone, and ordered the punishment to be deferred till the next day. In this manner he tormented me with threats for seven successive nights.

"These efforts to intimidate me failing, I was again summoned before the Town-council, who for hours endeavoured to terrify me into a denial of my faith, by menacing me with the

* A name oft given to the Protestants on the continent.

most cruel and unheard of tortures. They told me I should be suspended in a chimney over a straw fire—have my ears cut off—a mark of a gallows and wheel burnt in my forehead—I should be sent as a galley-slave to the fortification of Spielberg—or be burnt alive. Now and then, one of them jumped from his seat, and, holding his fist to my face, threatened to knock me down. I was then dismissed. When I was going away, Mr. Bezold, the youngest member of the Council, whispered to me, 'You have nothing to fear, for, as you have committed no crime, they can do you no harm; they only want to frighten you. This proved a great comfort to me.

"The following day, I was again led before the Council, and many fair promises were made to me, if I would turn Roman Catholic. At length they put three questions to me: 1. Why did you go out of Bohemia? *Answer.* For conscience sake. 2. Why have you departed from the Catholic Church? *Ans.* Because I do not believe that I can be saved in it. 3. Will you turn again to the Catholic religion, or will you continue in your present faith, though you should be tortured to death? *Ans.* Yes: I will continue in my present faith at all hazards.

"Not many days after, I was brought before the governor of the castle. He asked me several times, 'Are you John Gilek of Lubny?' Having respectfully answered in the affirmative, he looked at me with a degree of amazement. He then put the following interrogatories, each time repeating my name: John Gilek, will you persevere in your faith, though you should be imprisoned for life, or should be condemned to the gallows, or should be burnt at the stake? To each question, I replied: *Yes;* I will. Addressing himself to the Jesuit, who was standing by, he said: 'I know nothing further to do with the prisoner; he does right to speak as he thinks: others make fair promises, which they never keep; I shall give myself no farther trouble about him.' Hereupon he dismissed me, and afterwards sent me some alms.

"One morning about Christmas, the gaoler ordered me to get ready, as the sentence of excommunication was to be passed upon me. At 8 o'clock I was conducted to the deanery. On one side the magistrates, and on the other side the clergy were seat-

ed, and I was placed in the middle. The Jesuit then stepped forward, declaring, that, as I had rejected all admonitions, and remained an obstinate heretic, I was now publicly excommunicated from the only saving Roman Catholic Church, deprived of all her benefits, and the prayers and intercession of saints, without any hope of being ever again received into her communion; but was delivered up to Satan, and the eternal torments of hell. I, at the same time, delivered up my soul, body and spirit, to God my Saviour and only Judge, not in the least terrified by their excommunication."

This whole proceeding was a mere farce; for no sooner had the magistrates withdrawn, than the priests came up to Gilek, and with affected kindness told him, that if he would only recant, they would disannul the sentence, and restore him to the favor of God. But, not effecting their purpose, he was led back to prison, and strict orders were given that no one should speak to him, as that would be a *mortal sin.*

The next day he received his final sentence, which was, that he should be kept in irons, and employed in the public works of the town for two years, after which he was to await his further sentence. Emaciated and unfit for hard labour as he was, the sentence was speedily put in execution, by sending him to break the ice, sweep the streets, &c. This labour was rendered the more difficult by his having his left hand chained to his right foot. Under these unmerited grievances, the internal peace of his soul alleviated all his sorrows; nor did he ever give up his hope of regaining his liberty, and returning to Gerlachsheim. And the realization of this hope was much nearer than he had any reason to expect. The manner of his deliverance is thus related in his own narrative:

"In spring, 1735, I commenced sweeping the streets; and in the month of August was given to a mason as his day-labourer. On the third morning, after entering on this employ, while at work on the top of a new house, the fire bells began to ring. The master-mason observing a thick column of smoke to rise in that part of the town, where he lived, left his work and ran home. The fire spread with alarming rapidity, and every one was intent on his own safety. I went wherever I

was called to assist. Among others I came to an old lady, who had formerly been my benefactress. Her house was on fire, herself confined to bed by illness, and her two daughters were endeavouring to rescue her from the flames. We succeeded to get her out, and convey her to a place of safety without the town. I prayed fervently to our Saviour, that if this were the day he had appointed for my deliverance, He would prepare the way.

" Having re-entered the town, a man requested me to drive his cow into the country. I gladly did him this service; and having brought her into a safe place, lay down behind a barn. Many persons passing that way, asked me why I did not assist the people in the town. On my telling them that I was overcome with fatigue, they made no further inquiries, though they saw my chains. After dark, I got up and made towards the forest. I succeeded in knocking off the iron rings with which the chains were fastened to my feet, and buried them. I could now walk with greater ease, and, continuing my route, chiefly in the night, and by unfrequented paths, arrived, on the fourth day, being the 24th of August, 1735, on the confines of Silesia, and the day following at Gerlachsheim. Mr. Shultz and all the Brethren received me with the greatest cordiality; and my heart overflowed with praises and thanksgiving to my gracious God and Saviour for all his mercies."

Gilek was one of those Bohemians, who, two years after, began the settlement of the Brethren at Rixdorf. This congregation he served for many years, both as schoolmaster, and assistant in the ministry. He closed his earthly pilgrimage at Berlin, in 1780, in the 74th year of his age. The sufferings he had endured in early life for the name of Christ, his faithful services in his Master's vineyard on earth, and his unshaken faith in the atonement of Jesus, on which alone he placed all his hopes for time and eternity, entitle him to rank with those who " overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, and loved not their lives unto the death."

## SECTION II.

*First Synods of the Renewed Church of the Brethren—Important Change in the Constitution—Observations on the use of the Lot—Spirit prevailing in the Church—Annual Collection of Texts.*

Much had been accomplished during the first twenty-five years, since the renewal of the Brethren's Church towards perfecting the Constitution, as the means of reviving in her members that spirit of piety and devotion to Christ and his cause, which had characterised their ancestors in Bohemia and Moravia. But, in proportion as their sphere of usefulness was enlarged; they found, that much still remained to be done, in order to give their community that regular external organization, by which due harmony might be preserved in all its parts, and those who joined them, might not lose sight of what appeared to be the design of God with them, as a part of his universal Church. Several changes were, therefore, gradually introduced into their Constitution. None of these changes, however, affected any one principle, either in doctrine, or discipline, clearly deducible from the holy Scriptures; for this would have subverted the very foundation of the Church.

Whenever circumstances seemed to require a material change in the Constitution, the Brethren resorted to the same method for settling the point in question, which had been adopted by their forefathers—they convened a Synod.

The first assembly of this kind, in the renewed Church of the Brethren, was held in the year 1736. The place of meeting was the castle of Marienborn,* with which count Zinzendorf had been accommodated by his cousin, count Ysenburg Meerholz. The assembly was not numerous, nor were its deliberations continued more than four days, viz. from the 6th to the 9th of December; but it was distinguished by a spirit of

* Marienborn lies contiguous to the Ronneburg. See the note, page 267.

brotherly union and concord, and self-denying zeal in the Lord's cause.

Synods were in the sequel convened every three or four years. During the life of count Zinzendorf, it was left to him to fix the time and place of meeting; and he also presided. These Synods were of different kinds. Sometimes they were assembled for the purpose of deliberating on some particular subject, connected with the affairs of the Brethren's Church, and were called *special;* at other times the discussion related to the circumstances of a particular district or province, when they received the name of *provincial;* or the consultation embraced the concerns of the whole Church in all its branches, when they were called *general* Synods. The number and character of the members assembled, depended each time on the nature of the object for which they were convened. Synods have ever since been continued in the Brethren's Church, and they are considered as the highest ecclesiastical authority in it.

The second Synod of the renewed Church of the Brethren, assembled at Gotha, in the month of June, 1740, was distinguished by the election of a third bishop. The choice fell on the Rev. Polycarp Mueller, a Lutheran divine, who had formerly filled a professor's chair in the university of Leipzig, and was latterly Director of the public academy in Zittau. He was consecrated by bishop David Nitschmann and count Zinzendorf, being the first episcopal consecration performed within the pale of the renewed Church of the Brethren. This measure was rendered necessary by the projected voyage of bishop Nitschmann to North America, where the Brethren were about to form some colonies; of which more will be said in a subsequent section.

This Synod, was also distinguished by the greater number of persons who attended it. For, besides the regular members, many friends from Livonia, Norway, Switzerland, and other places, were present; which plainly shows, that God was preparing the way for the Brethren to "lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes" of their Church. A principal subject of deliberation, was the way and means to be adopted for cultiva-

ting the field, without obtruding on the labours of others, and thereby weakening the bond of Christian love, by which they ever wished to be united to *all* who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

Besides Synods, it was customary to hold frequent smaller assemblies, called *Synodal Conferences*,* composed of those servants of the Church, who for the time being belonged to the Missionary congregation. Such a conference was held in London in 1741. The importance of the subject discussed, and the influence it had on the government of the Brethren's Church, render a fuller account of its proceedings indispensable.

The reader will recollect, that at a very early period,† twelve Elders were appointed to have the oversight of the congregation at Herrnhut, four of whom were chosen by lot to be Chief Elders. After making some immaterial changes in their designation and office, it was, in process of time, thought expedient to nominate one Elder to have the general inspection, not only over Herrnhut, but over every institution, which then was, or might hereafter become connected with the Brethren's Church. The individual, holding this office and called General Elder, presided at all their meetings for consultation, and his decision was final. Such an office might probably be held without much inconvenience, while the Church and its operations were circumscribed within very narrow limits, and while both Elders and others were "all of them subject one to another and clothed with humility." Yet, it was impossible, that this office, in its original designation, could be permanently continued without manifest inconvenience and danger. Two injurious consequences, though of opposite kinds, were likely to ensue.

Owing to the weakness and deceitfulness of the human heart, and its natural love of power, it was to be feared, that such a

* The distinction between a Synod and Synodal Conference, consists in this, that the former is attended not only by persons holding an office in the Church, but also by delegates, as representatives from different congregations. A Synodal Conference is composed only of persons in office. These assemblies were frequent in the infancy of the Brethren's Church, being rendered necessary by the circumstances of the times; but they have been gradually discontinued.

† See p. 203.

person might by degrees usurp an unscriptural authority over his brethren, be elated with flattery, exalt himself above his fellow Elders, and at length proceed to lord it over God's heritage; and thus arrogate to himself a rank and superiority, not altogether unlike the Roman pontiff: Or, that the weight of his official duties and responsibilities might so depress his spirits, and enervate his frame, as totally to destroy his mental energies, and unfit him for usefulness. In either case, the Church would be the sufferer, and, instead of being a family of God on earth, looking for direction to the Lord *alone*, and being unreservedly devoted to his service and "zealous of good works," would become subservient to man, and sink into supineness and inactivity.

It augured well for the future prosperity of the Brethren's Church, that these evil consequences were foreseen before they actually took place, and a remedy provided, the efficiency of which has now been confirmed by the experience of more than eighty years, under a great variety of circumstances.

But, before we relate the measures which were adopted to prevent the above-mentioned injurious consequences, it seems proper to enumerate the duties of the General Elder, and the great importance and responsibility, which were then attached to that office.

His office then was not strictly ministerial; but consisted in superintending the whole work, in which the Brethren were engaged for the extension of Christ's kingdom at home and abroad. He was in duty bound to acquire a competent knowledge of every congregation and establishment, connected with the Brethren's Church, among Christians and Heathen; to assist with his counsel and advice, and interpose his authority, whenever he perceived a deviation from the rule of Christ and the precepts of his Word, or a departure from the fundamental principles of the Church. He was expected to keep up an uninterrupted intercourse, either personally or by letter, with all those who laboured in the Lord's vineyard, in union with the Brethren. As president of the meetings of the Elders and other Officers in the Church, (or *Conferences* as they were called) it was his duty after duly weighing the reasons on both sides, to give the final decision. Besides, every individual

member of the Church, was at full liberty, if so disposed, to consult him on his personal concerns. These were duties which required not only a superior degree of piety, but also very sound judgment, a firm and decided character, and many other qualifications rarely possessed by one person. This was fully understood by the Brethren. Hence they proceeded with the utmost caution and solemnity in the appointment of such an Elder.

When the election had been made, by plurality of votes, and the brother elected had signified his acceptance of the office, he was publicly invested with it, in presence of the whole congregation, who joined in commending him to the blessing of God, with prayer.

Previously to his introduction to office it was usual to interrogate him on his knowledge of the Brethren's Church, as to its origin in Moravia and its revival at Herrnhut; the spirit of its ancient confessors and martyrs, and its destiny and peculiar privilege, to be a chosen people of the Lord. Having satisfactorily answered these questions the interrogatories continued:

"Are you ready to lay down your life on the confession, that Christ is the only Head and King of his people?

"Will you, after your promotion to office, continue to walk humbly with God, considering the first risings of pride as a temptation of the devil?

"Will you remain subject to the Church, and, while you rule, exhort and rebuke with all long-suffering and meekness, rejoice yourself to decrease that Christ may increase?

"Will you faithfully endeavour to promote in others the knowledge of Christ, and of the virtue of his death and the merit of his blood to cleanse and sanctify the heart; making this the sole foundation of all your instructions and reproofs, and of your official decisions?

"Are you willing, if it should be required, to follow the Church in all her wanderings, even into persecution and death?"

No farther proofs need be adduced to shew the importance attached to the office. Nor is it surprising, that Leonhard Dober, who had held the office of General Elder since the year

1735, should, at length, feel the weight of it quite insupportable, especially as its labors and responsibility were continually increasing. This induced him to tender his resignation to the Synod assembled in 1740. But the Synod could not accept of it, not knowing any other person, possessed of equal qualifications for the office with Dober. Yet, as the expediency of continuing the office began to be more and more felt by many; it was resolved to resume the consideration of the subject with as little delay as possible. This took place at the Synodal Conference, (already mentioned) held in London in 1741. They met in a house in Red Lion Street, and continued their sessions, by several adjournments, from the 11th to the 23rd of September.

After discussing several other subjects, the conference proceeded on the 16th to the consideration of the best mode of supplying the office of General Elder; the resignation of Leonhard Dober having been previously accepted. Many difficulties presented themselves, and much discussion ensued. At length it was impressed on the minds of several Brethren at once, that, as the government of the whole Christian Church belongs to the Lord Jesus, who is the Chief Shepherd of his flock and the Bishop of souls, the Brethren's Unity, being a branch of the universal Church, might confidently expect, that *He* would at all times counsel them according to his will, without the intervention of any man, invested with the office of General Elder, as long as they were disposed to be led by his staff, and to submit to his sceptre with filial reverence. On this point there can, in fact, exist no difference of opinion among those, who believe the promises of his holy Word, confide in his divine providence, and pay homage to him as the almighty and omnipresent King of Sion.

This privilege, possessed by every true believer, the Conference were convinced might also be claimed by the Brethren, and that, not only as individuals, but in their associate capacity, as a Christian community, they might rely on the Lord's promise "to guide the meek in judgment and teach them his way," and that those, who were entrusted with the government of the Church might place implicit confidence in Him, that he

would graciously direct them in the discharge of their official duties; and cause the measures adopted by them for the promotion of his cause in the world, to be approved by all the members of their Church, as undertaken in His name and directed by Him.

The Conference therefore unanimously resolved to abolish the office of General Elder, and, instead of investing any man, however pious and deserving of confidence, with the authority hitherto exercised by the General Elder, to apply for direction to the Lord himself, by the use of the lot, in concerns connected with the government of the Brethren's Church, in all cases in which the holy Scriptures and the leadings of divine providence do not furnish a clear rule of action.

The Conference closed their deliberations with fervent prayer to the Lord, and rose from their knees with a grateful and powerful impression on their minds, that their prayers were heard, and that the confidence they reposed in Him would not be put to shame. This hope was strengthened, when they read the text for the day: "*The glory of the Lord came into the house.*" Ezek. xliii. 4. With deep reverence the assembled servants of the Church vowed obedience to Jesus, and solemnly pledged themselves to each other, that in all their ministrations in the Brethren's Unity they would implicitly submit to his rule and direction. It was finally resolved to notify this event, by a circular, to all the congregations and establishments of the Brethren, and to invite them to join in the decision of the Conference, by entering into a solemn covenant with each other, before the Lord, to be in truth his "peculiar people, ever ready to show forth his praises, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

The public notification of this event took place on the 13th of November, and to add greater solemnity to it, it had been resolved to offer reconciliation to all those persons, who had either withdrawn, or been excluded from the Church. It is remarked in the diary of Herrnhut, that, when the congregation was informed of the change made in the constitution, by committing the rule of the Brethren's Church more immediately into the hands of the Lord himself, the whole assembly was

deeply affected and overpowered with a penetrating sense of the presence of Jesus. And when the nature of the change was fully explained to them, not a doubt remained in the minds of any, whether members of the Church or strangers, that the Lord Jesus would indeed approve himself to the Brethren's Unity, as the Chief Shepherd of his flock, and the Bishop of souls, that he would counsel his servants, and order all things according to his holy will. Not an individual was found among those who were under the censure of the Church, or had absented themselves from her communion, who did not thankfully avail himself of the reconciliation offered. With deep compunction of heart they confessed their faults, and were received again with brotherly affection into the bosom of the congregation. It may here be mentioned as a pleasing coincidence, that the text on which Comenius preached his farewell sermon in Fulnec, previous to his banishment from Moravia, was the very same, which had been appointed for the 13th of November, 1741. viz. *Feed thy people with thy rod.* Mic. vii, 14.

Nor was this visitation of grace confined to Herrnhut. One spirit animated the whole Church, wherever she had erected her tents. Each and all were ready, on their part, to ratify the decision of the Synodal Conference, by joining in the solemn covenant they had made. Not by constraint, therefore, but willingly, they dedicated themselves to the Lord and his service, adored him as their Saviour and King, and vowed cheerful obedience to his government. And this disposition of heart has, by God's grace, been preserved in the Brethren's Church, and has often been strikingly renewed by means of the annual commemoration of this occurrence, on the 13th of November.*

* It is customary in the Brethren's Church to observe an annual commemoration by appropriate religious services, of such events in its history as have had an important influence on it as a religious community. The mode of conducting these commemorations is not everywhere the same. In some cases it is done by a discourse on the subject of commemoration; at other times, when the event commemorated is peculiarly important, by services more solemn; the congregation assembling several times in the day, and the solemnities are frequently concluded with celebrating the Lord's Supper. Such days are called Anniversary or Memorial days. If the local circumstances of a con-

The transaction now related, proved the occasion of the more general use of the Lot in the government of the Brethren's Church. More instances than one have been mentioned, in which this mode of deciding an important but difficult question was adopted by the Brethren, both in ancient and more modern times. The use of it, therefore, was no novelty; but hitherto there was no general understanding or agreement on this point, and no fixed principles had been laid down respecting its use. It waas not till the Synodal Conference, held in London in 1741, had unanimously adopted a definite Resolution on this subject, and till this Resolution had been confirmed by the cordial and unanimous assent given by all the Ministers and Elders as well as private members of the Brethren's Church, that the use of the lot was systematically introduced. As the use of the lot has been objected to by many worthy men, and is liable to be misunderstood, we shall add a few observations, which may serve to give the reader a correct idea of the Brethren's sentiments on this subject, as they are contained in the authentic publications of their Church.

Mr. Loretz, in his Ratio Disciplinæ Unitatis Fratrum,* says: "Should it be asked, what has induced the Brethren to adopt the use of the lot? it may be replied, that the reason must be sought for, partly in a consciousness of their own insufficiency, and partly in filial confidence in the Lord Jesus as the Head and Ruler of his universal Church. The melancholy consequences, which, soon after the apostolical age, ensued from committing the government of the Church entirely into the hands of men, made the Brethren the more jealous of themselves. They anticipated the deplorable situation of *their* Church, if their Synods ever were to resemble general Councils, where majority of votes alone decided, and that majority often the mere result of the talents and rank of certain leading men.

gregation render it inexpedient to keep the commemoration on the day properly fixed for it, it is done on the next convenient Sunday. The public Anniversaries now observed in the Brethren's Church are *March* 1st, (in commemoration of the origin of the Church in Moravia,) May 12th, (in commemoration of its Renewal) and August 13th, and November 13th, (in commemoration of events related in this history.)

* Ratio Disciplinæ U. F. p. 306.

They well knew, that self-interest and worldly motives had frequently been concealed under the mask of piety and religion. They felt the weakness of their own understanding in the things of God, and in the guidance of his church, and were convinced that *his* thoughts and ways often differed from theirs. These considerations produced a cordial agreement among them, to take their refuge to the Lord, entreating Him, to counsel them by *means of the lot*, according to his will in all things, which concern the general interests of the Church, in order as far as possible to prevent human mistakes, by unreservedly submitting *their* will to *his*."

"Further, the members of the renewed Church of the Brethren agreed in opinion with their ancestors in Moravia, that though the use of the lot is not commanded in the New Testament, it cannot be justly called *anti-scriptural;* and ought to be viewed as a divine decision, according to the words of Solomon 'the lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.'* As God himself commanded the use of the lot to the Israelites,† as it was frequently resorted to during the Jewish dispensation,‡ and as it was used by the Apostles after Christ's ascension;‖ the Brethren believe that even now the lot *may* be made use of in the Church of Christ; but that all depends upon this, that we know *when* and *how* it is to be used."§

It is a fundamental principle in the constitution of the Brethren's Church, that the lot ought not to be used in any of the following cases: 1. When the subject is clearly decided in Holy Writ. 2. When the will of the Lord is distinctly marked out by the leadings of divine Providence. 3. When the point in question is already determined by a fixed Rule in the Constitution of the Church. Its use, therefore, is restricted to those cases, on which no decisive judgment can be formed by any of the just mentioned rules, when much may be said for either side of the question, and when the adoption or rejection of a proposed measure, involves the general welfare of

* See p. 50. † Lev. xvi. 8, 9. Numb. xxxiii. 54, xxxiv. 13. Josh. vii. 13. ‡ Josh. xviii. 6, 10. 1 Sam. xiv. 40—42, &c.
‖ Acts i. 15. § Exposit. of Christ. Doctrine, p. 453.

the Church. Instances of this kind are constantly occurring in its government. To these belong the appointment of persons to the episcopal and other offices, the formation of new settlements, the establishment of new missions, &c.*

The right of using the lot is limited to those, who bear the rule in the Church; that is, to Synods, to the general Board of direction, called the Elders' Conference of the Unity, and to the subordinate Conferences in each congregation and missionary settlement. The manner of using it is prescribed by the Synods. No bishop or minister is allowed to use it privately; but the lots, (an affirmative and a negative) are written and drawn in a full meeting of all the members of the board or conference. Before any question is submitted to the decision of the lot, the arguments on both sides must be fully discussed, and the members of the conference be cordially agreed on the propriety of its use, and have made up their minds to act in strict conformity to its decision. These points being ascertained, the president offers up a prayer, invoking a divine blessing on the act, and supplicating the Lord, to make known *his* will to his servants, and to grant them grace to obey it with simplicity and without reservation.

Another fundamental rule regarding the use of the lot, is, that it must never be placed in opposition to the conviction, wrought by the Spirit of God, in the heart of an individual; consequently, that it is binding only on those who draw it. If, e. g. a person be appointed to an office, agreeably to a decision by the lot, the conference, who received that decision, are in duty bound to inform him of it; but it is left to his own con-

* At first the lot was used more frequently than at present, and applied to circumstances too unimportant to warrant it. At the same time, it must be confessed, that, while a spirit of simple confidence in the Lord, generally animated all the members of the Church, no harm accrued from it. Succeeding Synods have made several alterations, and the use of the lot is now, almost entirely restricted to the the cases mentioned above. It is never used in light or indifferent matters; nor in the concerns of any individual, who has not a decided reverence for it as a *religious act*. And persons of their community are most earnestly exhorted, never to trifle with the use of the lot, or resort to it as an affair of *mere chance*.

viction, whether he accept, or decline, such appointment. For, it is understood, that, according to the manner of using the lot, it is not *absolute*, but only determines, that the office which is to be supplied, shall in the *first* instance and *in preference* to other candidates, be offered to the individual, whose name has been inserted in the lot. Such an individual may have reasons, fully known only to himself and the Searcher of hearts, which justify him in declining the proposal, without impeaching his devotedness to God.*

This principle thus acted upon is the main-spring of that self-denial, that unreserved dedication of themselves unto the Lord, that zeal and patient endurance in his service, and that willing acquiesence in his ways, which have often distinguished the members of the Brethren's Church, and signalized their labours in Christ's vineyard. Fully persuaded, that God has called them into his service, made them willing in the day of his power to be devoted to Him, and confirmed it by the highest sanction of the Church, when in his name they were called into action, they have joyfully consecrated all their energies of body and mind to their Saviour and to his cause in the world. Nor has this disposition been confined to those only, who have been actively employed in building the spiritual temple of the Lord; but it has diffused itself, with more or less effect, through all the divisions and members of the community, making them willing to follow the Lamb, whithersoever he goeth, through good report and through evil report. This principle is the bond of their brotherly union, and the basis of their covenant.

It is further to be remembered, that the Brethren do not attach any *infallibility* to the government of their Church, in consequence of the use of the lot. For those who bear the rule among them, no less than the private members, are *fallible* men, liable to make mistakes in the execution of those very plans, in which they engage, conformably to a decision by the lot. Yet it is a fact, well known to all who are conversant with their history, that failures in their plans of operation have been less frequent since this mode of decision has been systematically

* Ratio Disciplinæ, U. F. Sect. XI.

adopted, than when majority of votes, or personal influence, or other circumstances, finally determined the subject under consideration. For these reasons the Brethren are persuaded, that though the use of the lot in the government of the Christian Church is not *commanded* in the New Testament, they have not incurred guilt in the sight of God by adopting it. On the contrary, a grateful conviction rests on their minds, that the Lord has not put their filial confidence in him to shame. And this conviction has been confirmed, in numberless cases, by the experience of a whole century, since the renewal of their Church.

Lest it should be thought, that the Brethren arrogated to themselves any superiority over other religious Societies, as if they were the *only people of God*, or considered the use of the lot *essential* in the government of the Christian Church at large, or even *indispensable* to the existence of their own community, we shall conclude this discussion with the following quotations from the Resolutions of the last Synod.

" In like manner as our Lord Jesus Christ is the Head and Lord of the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood; so is he also the Head and Lord of the congregations of the Brethren, for this reason, because they form a *part* of the Church of God.

" The way and manner in which He exercises his government in his Church, are beyond our comprehension. He, who is the Sovereign Ruler of all, directs every thing for the good of his people. Manifestations of his will are imparted to us, by his *Word*, by his *Spirit*, and by his *Providence*, whereby he controls human affairs as he pleases, for to Him is given all power in heaven and on earth. These manifestations are granted to us in common with all true believers. Besides these, we have in the Brethren's Church another means of discovering his will, namely the lot.

" The use of the lot is not grounded on any positive commandment in the writings of the New Testament; and therefore we cannot assert, that the Lord must at all times govern the Brethren's Church by it."

A few remarks on the *spirit*, which generally influenced the sentiments and proceedings of the Brethren at this period,

may be suitably introduced, before we resume the thread of the history. On this subject bishop Risler observes:*

"The Brethren at that time, like the Rechabites of old† looked upon themselves as a people dwelling in tents, who here have no continuing city, but seek one to come. This preserved the Church from 'settling on its lees.' All was activity, and the machine was in constant motion. This was particularly the case in the Missionary congregation. It was usual to compare it to the cloud of witnesses,‡ moving from place to place, and to the wheels in Ezekiel's vision|| which went as the Spirit directed. It excites astonishment, when we reflect on the many and long journies they undertook; and we wonder, how people, as poor as they were, could defray the expense. But they did it *in faith*, were content with little and poor accommodations, travelling mostly on foot. It was no unusual thing for a Missionary, who received ten or fifteen shillings for a journey of three hundred miles or more, or save a part of it. They considered it an honor to tread in the steps of Jesus, who had not where to lay his head, and to follow the example of the Apostles. On voyages, they submitted to every inconvenience, and sometimes even worked their passage, to lessen the expense to the Church.

"When travelling, either by land or water, it was their constant practice, to 'go and bring forth fruit.' In every village or town, where they made any stay they endeavoured to find out persons, who were willing to listen to their testimony of Jesus. In this manner they occasionally were made instrumental in imparting divine instruction, and were received with brotherly kindness. But the reverse was more frequently the case. Calumnies against the Brethren began to be widely circulated, and those, who belonged to their Church, or favoured their cause, were exposed to taunts and ridicule; for, they would have considered it an offence against God and his people, by improper compliances, to deny who they were, in order to avoid reproach. This disposition enabled the Brethren to do so much in so short a time, and with such slender means. Most, who at that period laboured in the Lord's vineyard,

* Select Narratives, Part II. p. 186, &c. † Jerem xxxv. 6, 7.
‡ Hebr. xiii. 14. || Ezek. i.

were active young men; many of them Moravian exiles, who had been early inured to fatigue and hardships; and all of them were resolved to devote life and all its energies to Him who first loved them, and laid down his life for their sakes. And, it must be allowed, that none but men of that stamp, were fit for the undertaking in that early age of their Church."

Many proofs might be adduced from the discourses, the hymns, and the epistolary effusions of the Brethren' at this period, that they were indeed animated by the spirit of true followers of Christ. We can spare room for only two or three short extracts from their correspondence.

One of the Moravian emigrants, a young man, writes: "Our Saviour has given me 'power to become a child of God.' This is to be ascribed alone to his mercy, for I am by nature a miserable sinner, devoid of every thing good. It is now my constant prayer, that I may be more conformed to his image, and more steadily follow his steps. Being freely justified by his grace, through the blood of the Lamb, I rejoice in the Lord, and my soul is joyful in my God. I am become his property and owe my life and all to him. My highest aim now is to learn the lessons of his love, and teach them to others, amidst the foaming waves of the ocean, among rocks and caverns, and the isles of the Heathen. This I believe is my destination. And though I am very unfit for it, I know our Saviour can use the weakest instruments to do his work. I have no other wish than to be prepared for his service at home or abroad."

The same spirit breathes in the following extracts:

"Our Saviour requires nothing of us, which He does not first give us, even before we ask him. He gives us a change of mind, pardon, justification, peace with God, newness of life, both to will and to do.

"To an unconverted man sinning is easy and no burden, because he has a mind and will for it, and knows no better. So likewise a converted man finds no difficulty to walk in newness of life, because it is become a pleasure to him; and his heart lives in it.

"A servant of Jesus must not be weary, or discouraged, or intimidated by sufferings and difficulties. Our Saviour knows how to provide for his servants, and deliver them. He often

permits us to be brought into straits, and then extricates us; and thus we experience his truth, wisdom and power; and our confidence in him is increased.—We have been cast upon him; his blood has been shed for us; this is the rock on which we build, the rock, which remains unshaken and immoveable.

"God be praised! we are not obliged to fight with our own weapons, or engage in a warfare on our own charges; for the blood of the Lamb richly supplies all our need. In this I daily find peace, rest and joy; and am delivered from all anxiety.

"Satan can only then obstruct our way, when we undertake any thing, however good our intention may be, before we are sure, that our Saviour has commanded it. It is necessary, therefore, that we live in constant dependence on the Lord.

"If St. Paul was satisfied to know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified; so ought we to be. And truly it contains unsearchable riches. That this is incomprehensible to some only confirms the assertion, that the wise of this world have not known it. But if ever they shall obtain salvation, they must become fools, and not be offended at the humiliation of Jesus."

One means not yet mentioned, which had considerable influence in promoting and keeping alive the spirit of devotedness to God in the Brethren's Church, was the publication of an annual Collection of Scripture Texts for each day in the year. This practice originated in a custom, observed at Herrnhut for some time. One of the Elders visited each family every morning. Before he took his round, he went to the Minister, who from a selection of Texts, written on slips of paper, gave him one, designed to supply the congregation with a subject of meditation for the day. The visiter, when he entered a house, read this text to the inmates, addressing a suitable exhortation. In 1731, a beginning was made to print this Collection, and in 1740, it was enlarged by the edition of a second Text for each day. Since then this practice has been regularly continued. The selection is made by the Elders' Conference of the Unity, in a full meeting of the Board, and sufficiently early in the year, to be forwarded in time to their several congregations and missionary stations. It consists of two parts, the former containing Texts from the Old Testament, and the latter from the

New; and is printed in a small volume, entitled, "Daily Words, and Doctrinal Texts of the Brethren's Congregations." The Texts are varied every year, so that in course of time, almost every passage of Holy Writ, "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," is brought under the view of the members of their Church; while those Texts, which teach the essential doctrines of the Christian faith, occur more frequently.

In the estimation of the Brethren, the value of this Collection has been confirmed by the experience of many years. Not to mention the benefit, derived from it by individuals in their private devotions, it has served to cherish a communion of feeling and spiritual enjoyment in the Church, however widely its members are separated from each other. Often also have the texts for a particular day, or week, been strikingly adapted to minister comfort, or encouragement, to congregations and individuals, on occasions of peculiar trial; so much so, that if these trying occurrences could have been previously known, it would have been almost impossible to have selected a passage from the Bible, either of warning, or admonition, or promise, more suited to the circumstances of the afflicted congregation or individual.

## SECTION III.

*Extension of the Brethren's Church in* GERMANY—*Formation of the Settlements of* NIESKY, BARBY, NEUDIETENDORF, EBERSDORF, *and* KLEIN WELKE, *in* SAXONY—GNADENBERG, GNADENFREY, *and* NEUSALZ, *in* PRUSSIA.

THE period of our history, on which we have now entered, is distinguished above every other, by the multifarious undertakings of the Brethren, for the purpose of extending the kingdom of the Redeemer throughout the habitable globe. It was a season of incessant activity, one enterprize following the other in quick succession, their exertions were more than commensurate with their means, and their self-denial and intrepidity were put to many a severe trial. The honesty of their zeal

diminished the injury, which their mistakes in some instances were likely to produce; while God whom they served with true devotion of spirit, supported their faith and sustained their courage.

Instead of relating these enterprises as they succeeded each other in chronological order, we shall endeavour so to connect passing events, that the transactions in one country or state, within the limits prescribed to this chapter, may as far as possible be presented to the reader at one view, without those many and sudden breaks in the narration, which are unavoidable, when compiled with too close a regard to the order of time. We shall begin with a description of the Settlements, formed during this period in Saxony and Prussia.

The distinction between a *Settlement* and a congregation, collected in a town or village, has been mentioned before.* Settlements are of considerable importance in the Brethren's Church. The ecclesiastical and civil constitution, in most of the continental states, limited the privilege of exercising their church discipline in all its parts to those colonies, which had been built by themselves, and were inhabited solely by members of their own community. These places also form a kind of nursery to the Church, for training missionaries and other labourers for future service in Christ's vineyard. And as each individual believer in Christ, is destined to "let his light shine before men;" so the Settlements of the Brethren's Church may be compared to "cities set on a hill that cannot be hid." This was a principal object in their formation, and it was constantly urged on the inhabitants never to lose sight of their destination, to be a people, who in their collective, no less than in their individual capacity, "should shew forth the praises of Him who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light." By the grace of God this object has been more or less obtained; particularly as a connection has generally been formed with people in the vicinity, who without separating from their parish church, have thankfully availed themselves of the services of the Brethren, who have endeavoured, in a more private manner,

* See page 253 in the Note.

to build them up in their most holy faith, and been instrumental in uniting them in small religious *Societies* for spiritual edification;* yet preserving their connection with the established Church of the country, where they resided.

Of these Settlements Herrnhut was the first, and the mother-congregation of the whole Church. The building of Herrnhaag and of the Bohemian colony of Rixdorf has been mentioned in the preceding section.† The latter is still a Settlement of the Brethren; but the former was evacuated not many years after its erection; the reasons for which will be mentioned in the sequel. Within a few years, several other Settlements were formed.

The first of these was founded in 1742, baron Sigismund Augustus von Gersdorf having offered some lots of ground for this purpose on one of his estates, called *Trebus* in the district of Goerlitz in Upper Lusatia. It was originally intended for Bohemian descendants of the ancient Brethren. Great numbers of these people, having left the land of their nativity for conscience' sake, had settled in Dresden and other towns of

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* In order to give the reader a more distinct idea of the difference between a Settlement or Congregation, and a *Society*, it is necessary to remark: That the name of *Society* is exclusively given to those religious Associations in connection with the Brethren's Church, the members of which still attend the public ministry and the sacraments in the parish church, but have private meetings for edification among themselves, and adopt such parts of the Brethren's Constitution, as are suited to their circumstances. They bear a near resemblance to the Methodist Societies, as they were originally founded by the late Mr. Wesley. Such Societies are numerous in Germany, Denmark, Livonia, and other countries. In some towns the Brethren have regular chapels, and an ordained minister of their own Church serving the Society. In other places the meetings are held in a private licensed house. This is sometimes done by the parish clergyman himself, or by the schoolmaster; but more generally by a member of the Brethren's Church; who resides in a central place, paying frequent visits in every town or village in the district where such Societies exist. The superintendence of these Societies is committed to the Elders' Conference of the Unity; or subordinately to the Elders of the Settlement in whose vicinity they lie.

† See pages 268 and 269.

Saxony. Some of them occasionally visited Herrnhut, and were in return visited by one or other of their countrymen from that place. These visits stirred them up to greater earnestness in religion, and made them desirous of forming a union with the Brethren, to whom they claimed a close alliance by their descent from the ancient Church. As it was impracticable to receive them in Herrnhut, they were advised to lay their claims before the bishops and elders who were then met in Conference at Marienborn. Thither they dispatched two deputies, Thomas Neuman from Zittau and Perchina from Dresden. They arrived on the 17th of March, 1742, and were greatly encouraged on reading the Text for the day; "*They shall be my people and I will be their God in truth and in righteousness.*" Zech. viii. 8. This they considered verified in their case, by the readiness with which the Brethren acceded to their wishes, and by the seasonable offer made to them by baron Gersdorf.

After their return a few Bohemian families began the building of the Settlement, which they called Niesky. Various difficulties prevented its increase, and most of the inhabitants removed to Berlin and Rixdorf. But, after the abandonment of Hernhaag, many of the emigrants fixed their residence at Niesky. As these were Germans, the use of the Bohemian language, in the performance of divine service, was gradually exchanged for the German. Owing to dissatisfaction on the part of the patron and incumbent of the parish, some years elapsed before their religious privileges were fully secured to them. This was at length obtained in 1752, by an amicable accommodation with the patron and clergyman, and by virtue of an edict from the Elector of Saxony, confirming to the Brethren the free exercise of the constitution of their Church in all the settlements lying in his dominions.

From this period Niesky advanced in prosperity, and for a number of years possessed peculiar claims on the affection of the whole Church, as it formed the nursery of her future labourers. Two institutions for the education of ministers' children, first established in Wetteravia, were in the sequel removed to this place. The one for the younger class, who, besides board and lodging, received instruction in the common branches

of learning; and the other for such youths as were destined for study, who, under the direction of an Inspector and several tutors, were initiated into classical and scientific literature, till of sufficient age and acquirements to be removed to the Brethren's Theological Seminary. Niesky, therefore, will ever remain endeared to the author and many others, as the place where the foundation was laid for their future usefulness in the Church, by the acquisition of human learning, and still more by the attainment of that knowledge, which maketh wise unto salvation.

In the town of Barby, which with the adjacent country forms a bailiwick of the Electorate of Saxony, the Brethren began to establish themselves in 1748. By the death of the duke of Weisenfels the line of the possessor of this town and castle had become extinct, and it had reverted to the Elector of Saxony. By him the castle was offered to the Brethren on a lease of years as security for a loan to the electoral treasury, which they had negociated in Holland. The Brethren, therefore, took possession of the ducal palace and its appurtenances, together with some farms. In 1749, the Theological Seminary was removed from Marienborn to Barby, and continued there till 1789, when several circumstances combined to render its translocation advisable. In this institution the young men destined for the ministry of the Brethren's Church, after finishing their academical course at Niesky, prosecute their theological and other studies, generally for the term of three years. The students and some of their tutors, together with the persons required for their attendance, live in a house by themselves. The superintendence is committed to the minister of the congregation, who likewise reads lectures on divinity and church history. Teachers are also provided for Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic, History, Metaphysics, and other sciences. Their improvement in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other languages, is duly attended to, nor are the fine arts, Music, Drawing, &c. neglected. Public examinations, exercises in rhetoric and disputations are held at stated times. Lectures are occasionally delivered on the first principles of Physic, the civil and ecclesiastical Laws of Germany and Political Eco-

nomy. Thus the courses and method of instruction differs little from those pursued at universities and colleges of learning.

Two years after the Seminary had been removed to Barby, the chapel in the ducal palace was delivered to the Brethren and opened for divine worship on the 24th of June, 1751. On that occasion two sermons were preached; in the morning by the Rev. Gottfried Clemens, late chaplain to count Promnitz of Sorau, but then minister of the Brethren's congregation and director of the Seminary; and in the afternoon by the Rev. Justinus Brueningk, a Lutheran divine from Livonia.

Though the congregation at Barby was at no time numerous, yet it was a place of importance, not only on account of the Theological Seminary which belonged to it, but as being for many years the residence of the Elders' Conference of the Unity, the size of the castle affording the necessary accommodation for them and their families. It consequently became the frequent resort of missionaries and other labourers in the Church; especially as its geographical situation rendered a visit to it very convenient to those, who travelled from the North to the South of Germany, to Denmark, Holland, or England.

A third Settlement within the Saxon territory, was established in 1742, at a place called New Dietendorf, situate between Gotha and Erfurt, about six miles distant from the latter town. The visits of Brethren in Tuebingen and the adjacent districts, had been the means of exciting in many persons an earnest desire after salvation. For the purposes of mutual edification they had formed small societies, regulated on the plan of Herrnhut. Being in consequence exposed to various oppressions, they solicited admission into one of the Brethren's Settlements. But as this was impracticable, it was proposed to them to form a new colony, which in time might be connected with the Brethren's Church. To effect this count Promnitz purchased the village of New Dietendorf,* and many pious people resorted to it. But as many obstacles

* This place had been built by count Gotter, as a colony for foreign manufacturers; but was nearly deserted.

were raised, both by the civil government and the consistory, against granting them the free exercise of their religion according to the constitution of the Brethren, several of the inhabitants retired to other places. Those who remained, together with some new comers, attended the public ministry of the Word and the Sacraments in the parish church.

At length, after the lapse of ten years, things took a different turn. The pious conduct of the inhabitants, their industry and upright dealings, the favorable testimony of the parish clergyman, and the consistent deportment of some of the Prince's domestics, who belonged to the Brethren's Society, had produced a great change in their favor, both at court and in the consistory. When, therefore, in the year 1752, Mr. Von Luedeke, who was a member of their Church, purchased New Dietendorf from the relict of count Promnitz, he obtained the necessary ratification of the purchase without difficulty. On the part of the consistory, however, objections were still raised, so that it lasted several years, before the ecclesiastical constitution of the Brethren was introduced in all its parts in this settlement.

Another settlement, formed during this period, within the confines of Upper Saxony, was EBERSDORF in Voigtland. It belonged to the noble house of Reuss, whose residence, Lobenstein, lay contiguous to it. In this village a religious community had been established at the close of the seventeenth century, by whose labours for promoting the cause of religion much good had been effected. The marriage of count Zinzendorf with a countess of that house occasioned a frequent interchange of visits; and as early as 1723, a printing office was established in the village by count Zinzendorf. From its presses a great number of Bibles and other religious books and tracts was issued and sold to the poor at a cheap rate. The intercourse, thus opened between Herrnhut and Ebersdorf, cemented the bond of brotherly love between the two colonies, whose object was in reality the same, though they differed in some of their respective regulations. Their connection terminated in complete union. Some Brethren and Sisters from Herrnhut resided in the family of the reigning count, Henry

XXIX Reuss, being employed either as tutors and governesses of his children, or as domestics. The ministry of the Court chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Steinhofer, a Lutheran divine from Tuebingen, who stood in close connection with the Brethren, was made useful to many.

By these means the inhabitants of Ebersdorf were more firmly grounded in the faith, and their number increased by several families and individuals from the neighbourhood. In some time, however, a misunderstanding and consequent coolness arose between this place and Herrnhut, which threatened separation. For two or three years all endeavours to restore mutual concord failed. At length Mr. Steinhofer was induced to visit the settlements of Herrnhaag and Marienborn, where he had an opportunity of observing the beneficial effects of the Brethren's constitution, when duly exercised. His relation of the state of things in those settlements produced a change of opinion in Ebersdorf. The leading men in the colony, therefore, solicited him and the reigning count to mediate a reunion with the Brethren. This was happily effected at the Synod, held at Zeist, in 1746, which was attended both by the count and Mr. Steinhofer.

Ebersdorf now received its regular organization like other Settlements, which has remained unimpaired ever since. Scarce had this been effected before God granted a new and rich effusion of his Spirit to the inhabitants, drawing them with cords of love to himself, and thus strengthening their brotherly union. The few individuals, who were secretly dissatisfied, withdrew peaceably to other places, and the diminution in number, which this occasioned, was amply made up by an accession of inhabitants from other congregations, and of pious persons from the neighbourhood.

The last settlement, formed during this period in Saxony, was called KLEIN WELKE;* and was originally built for the accommodation of Vandals,† in connection with the Breth-

* Klein Welke lies in Upper Lusatia, about three miles from Bautzen.

† The Vandals are a distinct nation, though they live in the midst of the Germans. They are very tenacious of their own language, which

ren's Church. An institution for the moral and religious benefit of this nation had been founded by the grandmother of count Zinzendorf, the lady von Gersdorf. She had, at her own expense, got the Psalms and some of the Epistles, translated and printed in the Vandal language. These were followed by the remaining books of the New Testament, and in 1727, an edition of the whole Bible in the Vandal dialect was published. About the same time count Gersdorf, lord lieutenant of Upper Lusatia, interested himself for the spiritual welfare of those of his tenants, who were of Vandal extraction. He requested the Brethren to visit them, and sent some of the young people to *Herrnhut* with a view of having them educated for schoolmasters. Two pious clergymen, who served the Vandal congregations in Bautzen and Klix, joined in these labors of love. God blessed their endeavours; the people were roused from the sleep of sin, and many enquired, what they must do to be saved. They did not stop here; but, having found peace with God through faith in Christ, went in great numbers, with the Bible under their arms, to the neighbouring villages, held meetings for reading and prayer, and were instrumental in stirring up many to enquire "for the good old way and walk in it." This excited much displeasure in certain quarters, and was one cause of the troubles which befel Herrnhut in 1736, though the Brethren had taken no active share in these proceedings.

Count Gersdorf, however, did not relax in his exertions. With the advice of the court chaplain, the Rev. Gottfried Clemens at Sorau, afterwards a minister of the Brethren's Church, four Vandal clergymen were appointed a committee to direct these undertakings. Some of the most pious and experienced Vandals were authorized to visit in the villages and hold prayer-meetings with such as were disposed to attend; and they met the committee once a quarter for consultation. On his estate

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is a dialect of the Sclavonic. They adhere to their ancient customs in dress, and observe other peculiarities. At the beginning of the last century they still retained some heathenish rites, and even had their household gods. They are generally in a state of vassalage; yet some now and then obtain their freedom.

at Klix he formed an institution under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Kuehn, for educating ministers and schoolmasters for the Vandals; and at Uhyst, another of his estates, he set up schools for Vandal boys and girls, and built a large house for their accommodation. He further stationed a student of divinity on his estate at Teichnitz,* who three times a week held meetings for edification in the Vandal language, and visited in the adjacent villages. The troubles at Herrnhut, in 1736, caused some of the Vandals to imbibe prejudices against the Brethren, which occasioned a temporary suspension of their labors among them. But at the request of count Gersdorf, who evidently saw that the Lord was with them, they were shortly after renewed, and continued till his death in 1750.

Teichnitz falling into other hands after the decease of count Gersdorf, the Vandals were at a loss for a place of worship. But God had already provided for them. One of their own nation, Matthew Lang, had some years before purchased the small manor of Klein Welke, adjoining to Teichnitz. Having from the beginning of the awakening adhered to the Brethren, he now invited his Vandal Brethren to assemble on his estate. This invitation they thankfully accepted, and, having closed their meetings at Teichnitz, began on the 24th of July, 1751, to meet for divine worship in the mansion-house at Klein Welke, where they enjoyed all the privileges granted to the Brethren by the Royal Charter (of Saxony) of 1749. The awakening among the Vandals continued and spread through several villages in Upper and Lower Lusatia. Many of these people moved to Klein Welke, and this by degrees led to the erection of a regular settlement, conformably to the constitution of the Brethren's Church. In July, 1758, the newly built chapel was solemnly opened for divine service, and a minister appointed, who preached in the Vandal language.

We now turn our attention to the Brethren's labours in the Prussian States. During count Zinzendorf's frequent visits to

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* The three large villages, Teichnitz, Uhyst, and Klix, lie not far distant from each other in the district of Bautzen in Upper Lusatia.

the capital, he had many opportunities of advocating their cause, and receiving the fullest assurances from the Sovereign himself of his favourable disposition towards the Brethren. The public discourses delivered by him at Berlin, in 1734, had fully established the orthodoxy of the Church, whose organ he was considered, and had been made eminently useful to many of his hearers. Other Brethren from Herrnhut had likewise occasionally visited Berlin, whose intercourse with persons of different characters and rank, had tended to diffuse a more correct knowledge of them and their religious principles. Thus the door had been providentially opened for their admission into the dominions of his Prussian Majesty.

Their most successful endeavours were made in Silesia. The Moravian exiles frequently passed through this country on their way to Saxony and other states. Their intercourse with the inhabitants, many of whom descended from the ancient Bohemian Brethren, tended to strengthen and increase the desire after true godliness and spiritual edification, which previously existed among them. They were patronized by several noblemen, among whom Ernest Julius von Seidlitz deserves to be particularly mentioned. He held private religious meetings in his own house. This exposed him to the displeasure of the Austrian government; he was put in prison at Jauer and kept in confinement for eighteen months, till the town was taken by the Prussians in 1742. Peace being concluded, and Silesia ceded to Prussia, liberty of conscience was granted to all Protestants. The Brethren availed themselves of this privilege by renewing their visits to their friends; and presented a petition to the King of Prussia, soliciting leave to build chapels and form congregations in Silesia, on the model of their own ecclesiastical constitution, being subject *only* to his Majesty, and not to the Consistory which should exercise no authority over them in religious matters, they being governed by their own bishops. A royal decree, granting the prayer of this petition, was issued at Berlin, under the King's sign manual, and dated December 25th, 1742. This liberty, however, extended only to those villages, which were bulit by themselves,

and such other towns as should be especially approved by his Majesty.*

Of the settlements formed by the Brethren in Silesia, GNADENBERG was the first. It lies in the principality of Janer, about three miles from Bunzlau. They commenced building in 1743. In the same year they began the erection of GNADENFREY, in the principality of Schweidnitz, about six miles from Reichenbach. This colony, in a short time, became the largest settlement of the Brethren next to Herrnhut. Among the first

* This is plain from the terms used in the Decree, at its renewal in 1746. From this Decree, a few extracts are subjoined:

"We do ordain herewith, that we, in the first place, confirm to them the free exercise of religion, according to the tenets and discipline of their Church; and give leave, that they may build chapels in *those* places, where they have agreed to form Settlements.—That they however, in exercising their religion, leave it to the persuasion and conviction of every one to join them or not &c.

"We will not suffer that the Moravian Brethren be attacked in libels, by any of our subjects, or be in any wise disturbed contrary to our intention hereby expressed.

"None, who from his own conviction joins them and changes his place of abode, shall meet with difficulties from the magistrates, with regard to his translocation, property, or estate, or pay more than is customary in such cases.

"We do further most graciously grant to the abovementioned Brethren, to remove, according to their pleasure, one or more families from one privileged place to another, or even to transplant them into a foreign country.

"We will that all those foreign families, who may settle in Silesia, shall by all means enjoy the same privilege, as granted by our decree of 1742, &c.

"Lastly, we graciously consent, that in case any of the Brotherhood shall be accused by people of other denominations, such accusation shall always be communicated to their Superiors, before any further proceedings be taken. But in all civil cases, they shall be subject to the courts of justice.

"We finally command to our supreme, and all inferior courts in Silesia, and every one, whom it may concern, at all times effectually to support the above-mentioned Moravian Brotherhood, as well in their liberty of conscience, as in the free exercise of their worship; as also in those benefits and privileges, which are comprehended in our general charter, and not to connive at any persons encroaching on them, under any pretence whatsoever." *Acta Fratrum* p. 56.

inhabitants were many descendants of the ancient Brethren's Church; and both this congregation and that of Gnadenberg, were considerably increased by persons from the surrounding country, who joined their union and attended their worship, without quitting their former places of abode.

The King having signified his wish that a Settlement might be formed by the Brethren near the town of NEUSALZ on the Oder, the building was begun in 1744. It was chiefly colonized by foreigners, and soon assumed a very flourishing appearance.

One of the stipulations in the royal grant was, that one of the bishops of the Brethren's Church should reside in Silesia. In compliance with this, Polycarp Muellar, lately consecrated bishop, fixed his residence at Urschkau near Neusalz, till accommodations were provided for him in that settlement. As he was likewise director of the Brethren's Academy, that institution was removed to Neusalz, and the number of pupils increased by several young noblemen and other youths from the neighbourhood. After his decease, in 1747, his successor in the episcopal office, John George Waiblinger, a Lutheran divine, took up his abode in Gnadenberg.

Liberty had been granted them to form settlements in several other places within the dominions of his Prussian Majesty; but as unforeseen difficulties prevented the execution of their plans, it is needless to detail the causes of failure.

## SECTION IV.

*First acquaintance of the Brethren with friends in* ENGLAND—*A company goes to* GEORGIA—*They become acquainted with the Rev. Mr.* WESLEY—*Collect a Society in* LONDON—*Mr.* WESLEY *separates from them—The Brethren extend their labours in the Country—Erect the Settlement of* FULNEK *and organize several Congregations—Establish Schools—Count Zinzendorf visits* ENGLAND, *and takes up his residence at* LINDSEY-HOUSE—*They convene several Synods—Are in danger during the rebellion in* SCOTLAND—*Obtain an Act of Parliament, &c.*

AT a very early period after the Renewal of their Church, the Brethren formed pleasing acquaintances in England. To

meet the wishes of some persons in London, who desired information of the establishment at Herrnhut, a deputation was sent thither in 1728, consisting of David Nitschmann, John Toeltschig and Wenceslaus Neisser. This visit paved the way for many important consequences. The cause of the Brethren, whose ancient history was not unknown to many pious and learned men in England, was warmly espoused by persons of influence, both in Church and State. When, therefore, some negociations, between the Trustees of Georgia and count Zinzendorf, for the accommodation of the sect of Schwenkfelders, had been broken off, they having retired to other countries; the Trustees made an offer of a piece of land to the Brethren, for forming a settlement in Georgia, in the hope that its contiguity to the Indian country would facilitate their access to these savages, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to them. Unwilling to relinquish so promising a field of labour, a company of Brethren, on their way to America, came to London towards the end of the year 1734. "They were recommended to the Trustees of Georgia, as Moravian exiles, who petitioned for liberty of conscience, and an opportunity of preaching the gospel to the Heathen; but who neither desired any personal emolument, nor were disposed to complain of former oppressions to the disadvantage of any.*

The Rev. Mr. Spangenberg who chiefly conducted these negociations, had not only the pleasure of seeing them concluded to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, but at the same time of forming an acquaintance with some of the English bishops, who evinced their favourable disposition to the Brethren by offering, if it should be necessary, to ordain any Brother, duly qualified and recommended to them.

In the year following a second company of Brethren, consisting of twenty-six persons sailed for Georgia. Their Christian deportment, on the passage, and on their arrival, gained them the esteem and friendship of the Rev. Messrs. John and

* The state of politics at that time between the courts of London and Vienna rendered the insertion of this precautionary remark in their petition, highly expedient; and it was found necessary to repeat it in many of their subsequent communications with the Trustees.

Charles Wesley and Benjamin Ingham, who sailed in the same ship. This occurrence had considerable influence on the future proceedings of the Brethren in England, and on this account, it will not be out of place, to insert some of Mr. Wesley's remarks concerning them, especially as they evince the spirit, which then generally prevailed among the members of their Church.

Wesley's biographer introduces these remarks by observing that "he began to learn the German, and the Moravian bishop, David Nitschmann, and some others, the English language, that they might enjoy the benefit of mutual conversation. It was here, that his acquaintance with the Moravian Brethren commenced, which he cultivated for several years with great assiduity and success; and we must allow, that the knowledge he acquired by their means, laid the foundation of the great things which followed in the subsequent part of his life." The cheerfulness and tranquillity of mind shewn by the Brethren, during a heavy storm, and in the midst of danger, greatly astonished Mr. Wesley, as very different from what he and the other English passengers felt. "I had long before," says he, "observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given continual proofs by performing those servile offices for the other passengers, which none of the English would undertake; and for which they desired and would receive no pay, remarking 'that it was profitable to have their pride humbled; that the Saviour had done far more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of shewing a meekness, which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouths. There was now" (during the storm) "an opportunity of trying, whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm, wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between decks, as if the great deep had swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Was you not afraid?' He

answered: 'I thank God, No.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly: 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.' In another part of his journal, Mr. Wesley says of them: "They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good humour with one another. They had put away all anger, and strife, and wrath, and bitterness, and clamour, and evil speaking. They walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called, and adorned the gospel of our Lord in all things." * The favourable opinion, formed by Wesley and his associates of the Brethren, they communicated to their friends in England, who were thereby induced to seek a nearer acquaintance with those of their community, who were still in London; and thus a door was opened unto them for laboring in Great Britain, as well as in her colonies.

Mr. Wesley having returned from Georgia in 1738, rejoiced to meet with some Brethren, and introduced them to his friends. At the joint solicitation of himself and his brother Charles, Peter Boehler† accompanied them to Oxford, where he held meetings for edification, attended both by members of the university and by citizens. He delivered discourses in Latin, and Mr. Gambold‡ interpreted them for the benefit of the illiterate part of the audience. At the request of the friends of the Brethren in London, one of their ministers, Philip Henry Molther, ‖ was appointed to care for the Society, which had been formed in the metropolis. The persons composing this Society, were partly those, who had been excited to greater zeal in religion by the labors of the two Wesleys, and

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* Whitehead's Life of Wesley, Vol, II, p. 7, 8, 10 and 12.

† P. Boehler had studied at the university at Jena, where he became acquainted with the Brethren, joined their Church, and was called to the ministry.

‡ John Gambold was a clergyman of the Church of England. After some time he relinquished his living at Staunton Harcourt in Oxfordshire, and joined the Brethren—Both he and Boehler were in the sequel consecrated Bishops of the Brethren's Church.

‖ Mr. Molther was a Lutheran student of divinity from the University of Jena, and afterwards ordained a presbyter of the Brethren's Church.

partly such as ascribed their spiritual attainments to their acquaintance with the Brethren. For a while both parties walked together in love; but a difference soon arose between Molther and the Wesleys, respecting some points of doctrine; and as the latter disapproved some rules, which the Brethren deemed essential to the spiritual welfare of the Society, a complete separation took place. This no doubt was best for both sides, especially as every attempt to effect reconciliation had failed. A forced continuance of a union, which could not be cordial, would have blighted the fair blossoms that were beginning to open, and the seeds of discord, not really eradicated, would have acquired growth by secret animosity.

As this separation took place at an early period, both parties acting upon the whole in a Christian spirit, it was not so injurious in its consequences, as frequently happens in similar cases.

Mistakes were certainly committed by both parties; but they arose, rather from diversity of national character and habits, and early imbibed notions and predilection for some speculative opinions and forms of religion, in the leaders of the two parties, than in any real difference of sentiment and practice, with regard to the essential truths of Christianity. Wesley acknowledges that he obtained his first clear insight into the doctrines of justification by faith and of good works, as the fruits of faith, by his intercourse with the Brethren, and particularly from the sermons of Peter Boehler and Christian David;* finding on a careful examination, that their

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* Coke's Life of Wesley, p. 157, where his conversation with P. Boehler is mentioned, and p. 162—166, containing extracts from sermons preached by C. David during Wesley's visit to Herrnhut in 1738. After his return to England, he addressed a letter to the Brethren in Herrnhut, expressive of the spiritual delight he had enjoyed in their society. His favorable opinion of their Church in general, may be gathered from a letter, written to his friends at home, after visiting the settlement in Marienborn, in which he speaks of them in the following terms of commendation: "I am with a Church whose conversation is in heaven, in whom is the mind that was in Christ, and who so walk as he walked. As they have all one faith, so they are all partakers of one

opinions on these subjects were in accordance with the Holy Scriptures, and with the accredited formularies of the Church of England. But the manner in which he expressed his sentiments on this doctrine was probably somewhat different from that used by his German friends, whose mode of thinking and speaking was more or less influenced by the system of theology, through the medium of which, in connection with the Bible, they had acquired their religious knowledge. Misunderstanding might, therefore, easily take place, especially as Wesley was but imperfectly acquainted with the German language; and even in private discourse, when Latin was generally substituted for English or German, misconceptions, on one side or the other, could hardly be completely avoided. Educated in a country where religious liberty was but little understood, and still less enjoyed, and where the bare appearance of deviating from established forms exposed persons to many vexations, if not persecution, the German Brethren proceeded with a degree of caution and reserve, which to an Englishman, accustomed to breathe a freer air, would appear at once unaccountable and censurable.*

Let the cause of disharmony have been what it may, the separation itself is not so much to be regretted, as each party was now at liberty to pursue, without the interference of the other, the object both had equally at heart, though they sought for its attainment in different ways. The sequel has shown, that Antony Seiffert, one of the Brethren's ministers, formed a correct judgment, when at a very early period, he dissuaded Mr.

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spirit, the spirit of meekness and love, which uniformly and continually animates all their conversation. O, how high and holy a thing Christianity is! And how widely distant from that, I know not what, which is so called, though it neither purifies the heart, nor renews the life, after the image of our blessed Redeemer."

* If a little more regard had been paid to this diversity of character, &c. by those, who then, or at a later period, charged the Brethren with teaching erroneous doctrines, and blamed them for improper and mysterious conduct, much bitterness of spirit, as well as gross misconceptions, would have been avoided. Even in those cases, where their conduct *was really censurable*, this consideration would have taught their accusers to censure with less acrimony.

Wesley from joining their Church, remarking that God had given him a different calling in which *he might become more extensively useful.**

It is but common justice to add, that while Wesley charged the Brethren in London with propagating erroneous doctrines, and objected to some of their proceedings, he did not deal out his censures indiscriminately on the whole body.† The separation took place in 1740. Of those persons who had hitherto constituted the Society, and who might amount to about sixty, eighteen or nineteen adhered to Mr. Wesley, and chose the Foundry for their place of meeting; the Brethren retaining the house which they originally had taken in Fetterlane.

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* At a visit paid by Mr. Wesley in 1783 to the Brethren's settlement at Zeist, he met his old friend A. Seiffert, and reminded him of the advice he had given him forty-six years ago, on their first acquaintance in Georgia, saying he had often thought of it, and every day's experience had confirmed its solidity. The venerable leader of the Methodists, spoke with pleasure of his early connection with the Brethren, and his unfeigned love for them.—*German Continuation of Crantz's History of the Brethren*, vol. iii. p. 7.

† This is confirmed by an "Address to the Moravian Church," which he published about this time. In this address he expresses his love and esteem for the Brethren, though, as he says, he felt himself bound in his conscience to separate from them. He writes: "What unites my heart to you is, the excellency (in many respects) of the doctrine taught among you: your laying the true foundation, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself;' your declaring the free grace of God the cause, and faith the condition of justification: your bearing witness to those great fruits of faith, righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; and that sure mark thereof, 'he that is born of God doth not commit sin.'"—(*Coke's Life of Wesley*, p. 205—207.) That his good opinion of the Brethren subsequently underwent a considerable change, all must know who have read Mr. Wesley's Journals. More causes than one served to produce this change.—Among these may be reckoned, the zeal with which count Zinzendorf and Mr. Spangenberg opposed the doctrine of sinless perfection, which Mr. Wesley then strenuously supported; the really reprehensible proceedings of some of the Brethren about this time; and his lending too ready an ear to the slanders propagated by some of their worst enemies. That his prejudices against the Brethren, if not entirely removed, were subdued by the feelings of Christian kindness is evident from the foregoing Note.

The members of the Society in London for some time continued in connection with the English Church, receiving the sacraments at the hands of her ministers and restricting their religious meetings to the public preaching of the gospel and private assemblies for edification; but as the majority wished for a complete union with the Brethren, it was effected in 1742; and ever since the Brethren have had a congregation in London, observing the ritual and discipline of their Church in every essential point.

The labors of the Brethren in England were not long confined to the metropolis, but extended to many parts of the kingdom. Their acquaintance with several zealous clergymen of the Church of England and other pious persons,* led to the formation of religious Societies, both in the West and North. Some of these Societies were, during this period, regularly organized as congregations in close union with the Brethren's Church. This was the case at Bedford, in 1745; at Tytherton and Malmsbury, in the county of Wilts, about three years later, in Bristol and the neighbouring village of Kingswood, in 1755, and at Leominster, in 1759.

But the largest field cultivated by the Brethren in England, lay in Yorkshire. The Rev. Benjamin Ingham, a native of that county, after his return from Georgia, labored, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Delamotte, in Aberford, and the adjacent district. Their evangelical discourses and indefatigable exertions excited great attention; many persons were roused from the sleep of sin, and began earnestly to seek the things which pertain to salvation. Feeling the want of Christian fellowship and mutual edification, they formed small religious associations among themselves. And as there were then but few clergymen, who preached the gospel in purity, they applied to the Brethren for assistance and spiritual advice. In compliance

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* Among these were the Rev. Messrs. Francis Okely and Jacob Rogers, whose evangelical sermons produced a great awakening in Bedford, and who afterwards became ministers in the Brethren's Church, Rev. Messrs. Delamotte and Ingham, Mr. J. Cinnick, of whom more will be said hereafter, and others.

with their urgent solicitations, brother John Toeltschig, a Moravian exile, was sent to Yorkshire, in 1738; and the year after, formed, in conjunction with Messrs. Ingham and Delamotte, several Societies on the model adopted by the Brethren in other places.*

It was not long before opposition raised its head. The churches were shut against Ingham and Delamotte, and the very ministers, who at first had received them gladly, now refused to admit them into their pulpits; but in this case as in many others, what was intended to impede, only accelerated the progress of the work. Conceiving that they were called of God to preach the gospel, they collected congregations in private houses and barns, and even addressed the multitudes which followed them every where, in the open field. And such was the eagerness of the people to hear, and such the impression made on their minds by the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith in the Lord Jesus, that they listened with silent and fixed attention to the discourses of Toeltschig and other Germans, whose imperfect knowledge of the English language made them indeed "speak with stammering tongues." But the defects of the speakers were lost in the power which accompanied their testimony. For, whatever of strange fire and false zeal might be commixed with its effects on the hearers, (as is generally the case in every great revival of religion,) there were many, in whom the seed of the Word fell into good ground and produced fruit unto eternal life. In his report of 1740, Ingham says: "There are now upwards of fifty societies, where the people meet for edification; and of two thousand hearers of the gospel, I know at least three hundred, on whose hearts the Spirit of God labors powerfully, and one hundred who have found grace in the blood and atonement of Jesus."

Toeltschig having returned to London, Boehler succeeded him in the superintendency of these societies, and by his great talents as a divine, his sound judgment, and acknowledged personal piety, was, under God, the principal instrument, in grounding the members in the doctrine they had received. He

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* The outline of the plan of a Society is stated in the Note p. 298.

transmitted regular reports to a Committee, or Conference, instituted in London, to have the superintendence of all the institutions in England, connected with the Brethren's Church., These reports convinced the Conference of the necessity of forming an establishment, which might serve as a place of residence for those Laborers, to whom was committed the spiritual care of the Societies, and as the common center of union. As a preliminary step the Brethren rented a large farm, with a very spacious mansion and extensive outbuildings, called Smithhouse,* and entered on the occupancy of the premises in 1741. During the year following the Rev. Mr. Ingham, who had hitherto had the chief care of the societies, urgently and in writing requested the Brethren to take the entire direction of them into their own hands, that he might devote himself wholly to the preaching of the Gospel. At a public meeting, convened for that purpose, on July 30th, 1742, which was attended by about a thousand persons, belonging to these societies, Mr. Ingham's determination was submitted to them, and they were asked whether they on their part, were willing to accede to his proposal? An answer in the affirmative resounded from every part of the room, and they declared,"that they had long waited for it, and depended on the faithfulness of the Brethren to accede to their wish." An instrument was then drawn up, and signed by upwards of twelve hundred persons, confirming their previous act, of committing the spiritual care of the societies to the Brethren.†

* It lies in the parish of Halifax, about four miles east of that town, and about a mile south of the village of Wyke, where afterwards a congregation of the Brethren was established and still continues.

† In this instrument, after referring to Mr. Ingham's faithful labors among them, and their desire to be in future served by laborers of the Brethren's Church, they declare the voluntary nature of the Act, in the following clauses:

"We whose names are under written, not only witness this, but also heartily desire the said Brethren, to take us into their care, since we see and observe, that the Lord is with them.

"Item, we not only desire them to preach publicly amongst us, but also to visit us in private, put us to rights, and make such orders amongst us, as they shall see useful and necessary, according to the grace the Lord shall give them." Bud. Collect. vol iii. p. 1037.

After this solemn ratification of the measure proposed, the Brethren felt themselves at liberty to enter on this new field of labor, which they divided into six principal districts, viz: Smith-house, Adwalton, Mirfield, Great Horton, Holbeck, and Osset;* appointing a Laborer to each district. Amidst many external difficulties, and much reproach and even persecution for the gospel's sake, the societies prospered, brotherly love and simplicity of manners characterized the members, and great grace prevailed at their religious assemblies.

Mr. Holmes, the proprietor of Smith-house, having died in 1743, and his widow not being well disposed towards the Brethren, they found it necessary to look out for another and more permanent establishment. By Mr. Ingham's exertions they succeeded in purchasing a piece of land, in the township of Pudsey, six or seven miles west of Leeds. There they began in 1754, to build a colony, which, in 1755, received its regular organization as a Settlement of the Brethren's Church, and was called Fulnek. At the same time, four country-congregations were formed in the villages of Pudsey, Gommersal, Wyke, and Mirfield, in each of which except Pudsey, a Chapel and a house for the minister were built.† But as the members of these congregations, especially those belonging to Pudsey, lived scattered in the country, and at considerable distances from their respective places of worship, several chapels were built, or private houses licensed for the performance of divine worship, both on sundays and during the week. The original division of the society into six districts was now abolished, and the members of it attached themselves to one or other of the four country congregations; the major part forming a close union

* All these places, except Smith-house which is only a farm, are large villages in the manufacturing part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, lying in the vicinity of the market towns of Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Leeds and Bradford; Smith-house forming a kind of center, from which the other villages are from three to ten or twelve miles distant.

† Pudsey lying close to Fulnek, the members of that congregation joined those of Fulnek in divine worship. Gommersal, Wyke, and Mirfield, lie to the south and west of Fulnek, at the distance of six, seven, and nine miles.

with the Church of the Brethren. The number of those who still continued in communion with the established Church, receiving the sacraments from their parish minister, and availing themselves of their connection with the Brethren, for private edification, was comparatively small, and decreased more and more, not only in Yorkshire, but likewise in other parts of the kingdom.*

In the same year the society in the village of Dukenfield in Cheshire, which had existed for some time and was gradually increasing, was formed into a country congregation. A similar regulation had been made in 1750 in the village of Okbrook, about six miles from Derby. Many invitations received by the Brethren from different parts of the country, to establish congregations in union with their Church, could not be accepted, partly on account of the inadequacy of their means; and partly because they did not wish to enter on other men's labors, but rather strive to preach Christ to those, who were still entire strangers to his name. In every place, however, where the Lord had given them tents to dwell in, they were not inactive, but by preaching in the adjacent country, sowed the good seed of the Word; and were favoured to see, that their labor was not in vain in the Lord. Many, induced by mere curiosity, or by the slanders propagated against the Brethren, visited

* The original design of the Brethren, and especially of count Zinzendorf, was, not to alienate any, who might seek fellowship with them, from the Church, in which they had been born and educated; but to admonish them to continue in it, and by their pious conduct to prove a good salt to the rest. Nor did the Brethren ever relinquish that design, till those, who declared themselves benefited by their ministry, repeatedly and urgently desired a closer union with their Church. They found by experience, that a system, which owing to the constitution of the country, answered exceedingly well in Germany, was not equally well adapted for England, where the free exercise of religion, allowed to all denominations, influences the sentiments and conduct of men in a very different manner. Yet the smallness of their congregations in Great Britain and Ireland is a manifest proof, that the Brethren have never used any persuasions to induce people of other Christian communions to come over to them.

their congregations. Not a few being convinced of the soundness of their doctrine, and the correctness of their lives, either joined their Church, or evinced their good opinion of them by acts of friendship and benevolence.

As early as the year 1746, an institution for the education of children was established at Broadoaks, in the county of Essex It was afterwards divided; the school for boys being removed to Buttermere in Wiltshire, and that for girls to Mile-end near London. In 1750, both schools were removed to Fulnek, where they have continued ever since. They were originally intended solely for the children of ministers, and other persons employed in the service of the Church, and were supported by voluntary contributions from the congregations. At the urgent request of many parents, not in connection with the Brethren's Church, their children, were in the sequel admitted as boarders. Many young persons, both among teachers and pupils, have in these schools been trained for useful service in Christ's vineyard.

Thus had the Brethren, in the space of about twenty years, from their arrival in the country, built one settlement, collected several congregations, and formed an extensive acquaintance with many persons of different denominations in Great-Britain. This paved the way for other important transactions, which promoted the prosperity of their Church in England, and empowered them, in the sequel, to enlarge the sphere of their labors in his Majesty's foreign possessions.

Count Zinzendorf, being on his way to North-America, paid his first, but short, visit to England, in 1741, and presided at the Synodal Conference held in London.* Two years after he repeated his visit, taking a view of the Brethren's institutions in different parts of the country. He had an interview with some doctors of divinity at Cambridge, and with the archbishop of Canterbury, John Potter, who declared his unaltered good opinion of the Brethren,† admonishing them to adhere to their

* The very important deliberations of this Conference are related in a preceding section. See page 282.

† See his letter to count Zinzendorf after his ordination, p. 241.

primitive simplicity, and not be diverted from it by the speculations of learned men, within their own body or out of it. During his stay in London he preached every day in German in the Brethren's chapel. These sermons were taken down in short-hand, translated into English, and publicly read for the benefit of those of his auditory, who did not understand German. In 1751, he came again to England, and made it his chief place of residence till 1755. At first he hired a house near Westminster Abbey, till he could take possession of an old mansion in Chelsea, which had been purchased of the earl of Lindsey, and was repaired and enlarged for the accommodation of himself and his family. A chapel was built near the mansion and a piece of ground enclosed for a burial-ground. The latter with the chapel are still in possession of the congregation in London.

Lindsey-house was intended for the residence of count Zinzendorf and his family and those persons, who were associated with him in the general superintendence and direction of the Brethren's Church; it likewise furnished lodgings for those who were called into service, or were going to or returning from their respective stations, and thus became the usual place of resort of the Missionary congregation. On various accounts England seemed then well adapted for the residence of the Directory* of the Brethren's Church. Its geographical situation opened an easy communication with the continent of Europe and with North America; and its possessions and political power in the latter country facilitated the Brethren's labours in the New world.

During the residence of the Directory of the Brethren's Church in England, one or other of its members held visitations at different times, in the institutions in connection with it, for the purpose of obtaining more correct knowledge of each congregation and its members, of consulting with the ministers and laborers in each, on the best mode of prosecuting and extending their work, removing obstructions and

* This was the name then given to the Board of general superintendence; but which was afterwards called the Elders' Conference of the Unity.

promoting brotherly love and the spirit of union among all the congregations and members of the Church. Several Synods were also convened in London and at Lindsey House, partly for deliberating on the general affairs of the Church, and partly with reference to the English branch of it. At one of these assemblies, held at Lindsey House, in 1754, the Rev. John Gambold, a clergyman of the Church of England, and highly esteemed by several English prelates, for his piety and learning, and at that time minister of the congregation in London, was consecrated a bishop of the Brethren's Church.

In 1741 some Brethren in London formed themselves into a voluntary Society, whose object was to assist in supporting the Missions, and which assumed the name of the "*Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen.*" The members met once a month for consultation, receiving missionary intelligence, and for prayer; when each contributed a larger or smaller sum to the general fund. The spirit which actuated them in forming and supporting this institution, may be collected from the following extracts from a letter, written some years after by one of the members to a friend. Referring to the missionaries he writes:

"The very sight of these truly apostolical men, and their zeal for the conversion of the Heathen, influenced neither by pride and vain glory, nor affected pharisaical piety, but accompanied by a humane, cheerful, and humble deportment, was most edifying to us, and awakened an ardent desire in us to do our part in furtherance of this noble object.

"We saw these men, constrained by the love of Christ, and ardently desiring the salvation of the Heathen, cheerfully venture their lives, in order to preach the gospel to them. Now, though we did not consider ourselves called to go with them, yet we had the very same inducements to further this good work by such means, as were placed within our reach. We must even confess, that we have often, at our monthly meetings, felt a very strong impulse to take a personal share in missionary labors; and this favor has in process of time been conferred on some of our number."*

* Crantz's Hist. of the Brethren, p. 574.

During the rebellion in Scotland, the Brethren were exposed to much trouble, as some of them had scruples against taking an oath. They were accused of being *Nonjurors*, and of refusing to take the oath of allegiance. To disprove this charge, they followed the example of other corporate bodies, and, in 1744, presented a loyal address to the King, which was graciously received. Nevertheless, a rumour was spread by some ignorant or designing person, that the Brethren were secretly Papists, and attached to the Pretender, and that they concerted measures, at their meetings, for setting him on the throne. It was even asserted, that arms and ammunition were stored in their chapels, and that the Pretender was concealed among them. The populace, ever ready to suspect foreigners, threatened to demolish their chapels and school-houses; but by the timely interference of the magistrates and a strict search of their houses, the fury of the mob was appeased, and all further apprehensions were removed. In Yorkshire, however, some of the ministers were imprisoned, in order to compel them to military service. A forged letter, written in cyphers, by some malicious persons, intent on preventing the building of Fulnek, was dropped near the place, and carried to a magistrate. His duty obliged him to cause a strict search to be made in the houses of the settlement, in order to satisfy the evil disposed. The innocence of the Brethren was indeed established; yet tranquillity was not fully restored till after the total defeat of the rebels.

The success, with which it pleased the Lord to crown the labors of the Brethren in Great Britain and her American colonies, convinced them of the necessity of obtaining a public recognition of the claims of their Church to the free exercise of their own ecclesiastical constitution, as this alone could insure permanency to their establishment in his Majesty's dominions, both at home and abroad. For this purpose they, in 1747, petitioned the British Parliament for an Act in their favor. The petition was presented and strongly supported by General Oglethorpe and other members. A bill was framed, allowing certain privileges to the Brethren, which passed both houses, was formed into an Act, and received the royal assent. But,

as the benefit of this Act was chiefly, if not exclusively, limited to the Colonies in America, the Brethren still met with various impediments to their labors in England. This determined them to present another petition to Parliament, soliciting a strict examination of the doctrine and constitution of their Church, in order to obtain a full confirmation of their religious and civil rights, and a legal sanction and authority for their future undertakings in the British dominions.

On the 20th of February, 1749, the petition was presented to the House of Commons by four deputies from the Brethren's Church.* The motion for receiving the petition was supported by Lieutenant-general Oglethorpe, who delivered an extensive speech detailing the origin of the Brethren's Church, its constitution and the leading events in its history, strongly urging their claims on the attention of the House. Being seconded in due form, the motion was opposed by a very eminent and active member, who, in a vehement speech, protested against receiving the petition. He was confuted by five of the most respectable members, in so many successive speeches, who recommended the reception of the petition, and the examination of the points mentioned in it. The petition was accordingly received, and referred to a Committee of forty-seven members, including the opponent. The Committee was opened on the 6th of March, and continued sitting on the 10th and 11th; other members of the House being occasionally present. The Committee having made their report, the petition was twice read in the House, and leave given to bring in a bill; which was prepared and brought in accordingly, on the 28th of March. It then went through the usual forms, and, having received several amendments, was passed, *nemine contradicente*, on the 18th of April.

More opposition was expected in the House of Lords, especially from the bishops, because one article of the bill stated,

* The deputies were Abraham baron von Gersdorf, formerly privy counsellor of war to the king of Poland and elector of Saxony; Lewis Schrauttenbach, baron of Lindheim, &c.; David Nitschmann, a bishop of the Brethren's Church; and Charles Schachman, lord of Hennersdorf, &c. Mr. Henry Cossart was appointed Agent.

that the Brethren were an episcopal Church. But it was soon found, that at a meeting at the Archbishop's, after reading the bill, they had agreed not to oppose the Brethren. The old venerable bishop of London, Dr. Sherlock, at first entertained a different opinion; but after reading the Report of the Committee, and having had an interview with count Zinzendorf, he withdrew his opposition, and remained ever after a firm friend of the Brethren.

April 21st the bill was carried by sixteen members of the House of Commons to the Lords, accepted with the usual solemnity by the Lord Chancellor Hardwick, and laid upon the table. Having been read a first and second time, it was referred for examination to a Committee of the whole House, which was held on the 7th of May. The Lord Chancellor, who spoke first, raised important objections to some parts of the bill. He was ably answered by the earl of Grenville, president of the privy council. The same side was taken by the earls of Halifax and Sandys, the duke of Argyle, lord Bathurst, and the earl of Bath, and lastly by the bishop of Worcester, who bestowed high encomiums on the Brethren's Church. The duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, was at first against it; but withdrew his opposition, and moved, that some expressions, which were liable to misconstruction, should be altered, and the final discussion postponed till the 12th of May. On that day, which for more reasons than one, had been rendered memorable in the annals of the Brethren's Church, the bill with the amendments was read a third time. After a speech by the earl of Halifax, and one by the bishop of Worcester, in which he declared the approbation of the whole episcopal bench, the question was put, and the bill passed in the House of Lords also *nem. con.* On the 6th of June it received the royal assent; and thus was incorporated as a public Act of the legislature of Great Britain.

The privileges secured to the Brethren by the Act were:

1. The Unitas Fratrum was acknowledged to be "an ancient Protestant episcopal Church, which had been countenanced and relieved by the kings of England, his Majesty's predecessors." "Their doctrine to differ in no essential ar-

ticle of faith from that of the Church of England, as set forth in the Thirty-Nine Articles." And consequently the free and full exercise of their own ecclesiastical constitution was guaranteed.

2. A simple *affirmation* in the name of Almighty God was allowed to those members of their Church, who had conscientious scruples against the form of an oath.

3. A dispensation from serving as jurymen in *criminal* cases, was granted them.

4. They were exempted, under certain conditions, from actual military service, in the North American colonies.

In order to guard against the abuse of this act, it was stipulated:

1. That the Advocate or Secretary of their Church in England, shall treat with government, whenever required, respecting the affairs of their Church, and from time to time notify the names and residences of their bishops.

2. That any person, claiming the benefit of the Act, must be furnished with a certificate that he is a member of the Brethren's Church, by one of its bishops or ministers.

These negociations, besides procuring for the Brethren the desired legal authority for their labors in Great Britain and its dependencies, were attended with other important consequences. Many absurd and malicious calumnies had been propagated, the falsehood of which was detected by the strict investigation of their claims before both houses of Parliament, the deputies having been examined no less than eighteen times. The various documents laid before Parliament, in proof of the antiquity of their Church, the soundness of its doctrine, and its scriptural constitution, fully satisfied the bench of bishops; and the many testimonies from America and other foreign Protestant States, in favor of the Brethren, induced the whole British legislature, to grant their petition with a degree of unanimity and good will not often equalled. The speeches, delivered on this occasion in both houses, served to diffuse more correct knowledge of their Church throughout the land, to remove misconceptions, lessen the feeling of animosity which still existed here and there, and awaken in persons of

all classes esteem and affection for them, as a people sound in the faith, peaceable in their deportment, and willing to use all their energies for the good of their fellow men.

## SECTION V.

*Labors of the Brethren in* IRELAND—JOHN CENNICK *joins their Church and comes to* DUBLIN—*He preaches with great acceptance in the city, and, in conjunction with Mr.* B. LA TROBE, *collects a Society, which is subsequently formed into a Congregation—He visits the* NORTH OF IRELAND, *and is assisted in his labors by other Brethren—Societies and Congregations are formed in several Counties—General Remarks on the Work in* IRELAND—J. CENNICK *visits* LONDON, *where he dies—Sketch of his character.*

THE first instrument, whom God was pleased to employ for conveying a knowledge of the Brethren to Ireland, was John Cennick, whose grandfather had been a Bohemian refugee. At an early age he had become a member of Mr. Wesley's society, and was for a short time employed as master of a school, established by him at Kingswood for the colliers' children. While in this employ he began to expound the Scriptures to the children and their parents. He soon became a very acceptable preacher, being attended by great numbers, and the Lord blessed his word in the conversion of several persons. A difference on some points of doctrine having arisen between him and Mr. Wesley, Cennick was dismissed from the school; and soon after joined himself to Mr. Whitfield, who had just returned from North America, and built a large chapel in London, which he called the *Tabernacle.* Here he preached to vast crowds, who were daily increasing. And as the difference between him and Mr. Wesley, originating in a diversity of opinion on free will and election, was daily widening, and reconciliation became more and more improbable, a complete separation ensued. Those persons, who adopted Whitfield's principles met at the Tabernacle. In Cennick, whose popularity as a preacher was daily increasing, he found a very useful assistant in his labors. These were not confined

to the Tabernacle; but he preached in many places in Gloucestershire, in the west of England, particularly in Wiltshire, and labored with almost incredible diligence, frequently preaching six times in a day. Success kept pace with his efforts, and persecution with his success. He was then in the twenty-second year of his age.

Cennick's acquaintance with the Brethren commenced shortly after his union with Whitfield. In a letter to him dated May 1, 1741, he thus speaks of them: "I love brother Spangenberg dearly; my heart is with his heart in the Lord Jesus. I thank my Saviour I have been the means of removing many strange aspersions and slanders against that people, and their ministers in particular. At first I thought not to take much notice of what I heard against them, as spoken by brother Spangenberg; but indeed I was constrained to speak, and defend them to the uttermost. This our Saviour knows I have done with meekness and simplicity, according to my knowledge and what I have seen. As to our Kingswood Society it is the most like theirs of any we have, and much after their way."

Increasing acquaintance with the Brethren strengthened his favorable opinion of them, which he was never backward to avow. This was disliked by Mr. Adams, his colleague at the Tabernacle, who openly opposed the sentiments advanced by Cennick. The latter, therefore, in 1745, left Mr. Whitfield's connection and joined the Brethren's Church.* Soon after

* On the subject of Cennick's separation from Whitfield, it may be proper to insert the following remarks, extracted from the "Life of Cennick," prefixed to the Rev. Mr. Matthew Wilks' edition of his sermons. Having mentioned the separation, the biographer adds: "The propensities of the people in town and country turned towards Mr. Cennick's manner, and no sooner did he declare his intention of joining the United Brethren, than the Tabernacle was shaken to the foundation. A multitude went off with him, and those who remained, not approving his change, wept at his departure, for he was greatly beloved by all. Though Mr. Whitfield felt this shock most severely, yet a friendly and affectionate correspondence and intercourse continued between him and Mr. Cennick, till the death of the latter. Whoever understands the nature of religious communions, knows that by

he took a journey into Germany, and visited some of the Brethren's settlements. In a short time he returned to England, and in 1746, went on a mission to Ireland, in which country he was mainly instrumental in laying the foundation of most of the congregations in union with the Brethren's Church. He began his labors in the capital, and from thence extended them to the North.

A year before his arrival in Dublin, an English soldier Antisel Taylor, who with benefit to his soul had heard Mr. Cennick preach in England, being stationed in Dublin, formed a small society of pious people, to whom he testified with great zeal of the atonement of Jesus, the efficacy of which to save and cleanse from sin he had himself powerfully experienced. One of his earliest acquaintances was Mr. Benjamin La Trobe, a young student in connection with the Baptists, who, having finished his studies at the university in Glasgow, came to Dublin in 1745. His piety, zeal, and talents, soon gained him esteem and affection; he became a leader of a little band of pious people in the city, thirty of whom, belonging to different religious persuasions, were united as a religious Society, bound, by mutual agreement, to the observance of certain rules.

At the solicitation of this society, Cennick came to Dublin in June, 1746, and on the 15th of that month commenced his ministerial labors in Ireland, by preaching in a chapel in Skinners' Alley, which the society had hired from the Baptists. Pelagianism and Socinianism greatly prevailed at that time both among the members of the establishment and dissenters. This rendered the doctrine of justification by faith, as preached by Mr. Cennick, offensive to many; and exposed

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passing out of one society into another, a man does not always reflect disparagement or censure upon his former connection: he may be convinced that the other will, upon the whole, better suit his views and feelings as an individual." See Village Discourses by the Rev. J. Cennick, edited by Matthew Wilks, London, 1810, vol. i. p. 35. From this work, the account of Cennick's life, inserted in the text, is chiefly derived.

him and Mr. La Trobe to reproach and persecution. Once, when returning from the chapel in Skinners' Alley, a mob, headed by a clergyman, assaulted and threw a volley of stones at them, by which, however, neither of them was injured. In spite of all insults, to which the members were constantly exposed, the Society increased to about five hundred, and the numbers, who came to hear the *new* preachers, were so great that many could not be accommodated in their meeting-house. Even Roman Catholics attended the sermons; and when some ministers complained, that their parishioners left the church, they were admonished by their superiors to preach Christ crucified, and thus deprive their hearers of any just pretext for going to hear the gospel in other places.

During Mr. Cennick's absence, who in the year following went to Germany to attend a general Synod of the Brethren's Church, the society in Dublin was torn by internal dissensions. A preacher in Mr. Wesley's connection, possessed of some talent and an insinuating address, but whose artful hypocrisy came to light in the sequel, prevailed on several members of the society to leave the Brethren and join the Methodists. The wound hereby inflicted on the cause, was in a great measure healed by the endeavours of Mr. La Trobe; so that when brother Toeltschig, who had been sent to his assistance, arrived in Dublin towards the close of 1747, he found the society, though lessened in number, restored to peace and harmony.

The Methodists having got possession of the chapel in Skinners'-Alley, the Brethren purchased the lease of a large house in Bishop-street, with an extensive rear, where some years after, a commodious church was erected; part of the dwelling-house being, in the mean time, fitted up for the performance of divine worship. Sermons were preached, and attended by large auditories, twice on Sunday, and every evening in the week, except Saturday.

During a visit of bishop Boehler, the society in Dublin, on June 6th, 1750, received the regular constitution of a *Town-congregation* in union with the Church of the Brethren, consisting at the close of that year of one hundred members. By

degrees the curiosity, which had been excited by Cennick's first coming to Dublin, subsided, the auditories in the Brethren's church were less crowded, though still sufficiently numerous, the hostility against them ceased, and they were no longer openly molested. The archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, received Mr. Cennick and other ministers of their Church, who waited on him, with affability, assured them of his good will, and that he was convinced of the purity of their doctrine, and the soundness of their principles and morals.

Mr. Cennick had not been long in Dublin, before he was invited to visit the North, by Mr. Dean of Ballymenagh in the county of Antrim. He travelled thither in August, 1746, being accompanied by Mr. B. La Trobe. He delivered his first sermon in a private house, and was so acceptable to his hearers, that they desired him to preach again the same day. The concourse of people was so great that very many could not gain admittance; and he was urged to preach a third time on that day, on a waste piece of ground. Thither he was followed by such numbers, that his auditory amounted to at least two thousand. The sermon being ended, a gentleman of considerable influence in the town, dashed through the crowd, accompanied by two servants on horseback, and riding up to Cennick, gave him several blows with his whip on the face and head. He was rescued by the people, and conveyed to a place of safety, but compelled to return to Dublin. He renewed his visit in July, 1748, and preached several times to more than six thousand hearers; but was again obliged to make his escape during the night.

The hostility against the Brethren having considerably abated, the two bishops Boehler and Johannes von Watteville visited the North of Ireland in 1750. They found a society of about three hundred persons, which assembled at a place called Craigbilly near Ballymenagh, till a chapel, built for them in that town, was opened for public worship. The members of the society were chiefly Presbyterians together with a few Roman Catholics. Brother Brown was the resident minister, and with his family lodged in Mr. Dean's house. The vast concourse of people, which at first attended the preaching gradually lessened; but their sphere of real usefulness was not diminished. In 1752,

they occupied sixteen chapels, and besides preached in upwards of forty other places, either in private houses, in barns, or in the open fields. Most of these places lie round Lough Neagh, in the counties of Down, Antrim, Derry and Armagh. The whole circuit was divided into six principal districts, and a preacher and other labourers were appointed to each.

In 1755, the four societies of Ballymenagh, Dough, Gloonen, and Grogan,* consisted of six hundred persons; many of whom had repeatedly solicited closer union with the Church of the Brethren. Their request was complied with during a visitation held in these parts by bishop Watteville, who, in conjunction with other ministers, formed a number of the members of the societies into a *congregation* of the Brethren, on the plan of the constitution of their Church. This took place on the 25th of March, in the above mentioned year. The principal place of meeting and administering the holy sacraments, was Gloonen, and continued so till the building of Gracehill, as will be related in the next chapter.

Another field, cultivated by the Brethren in the North of Ireland, lay in and about Ballinderry, in the county of Antrim. This place was first visited by Mr. Cennick, in 1750; and as the people received the Word gladly, he and other ministers repeated their visits, and preached both there and in six neighbouring villages. It soon appeared, that in many of their hearers, the seed of the Word had fallen on good ground, and was bringing forth fruits unto holiness. These requested to be formed into a society, in order to enjoy the spiritual care of the Brethren. They amounted to nearly seven hundred persons, mostly members of the Church of England, and some Quakers. Here, as in other places, opposition was not wanting. The steward of lord Conway prohibited his tenants, under heavy penalties, from joining the Brethren. But, on application, made by Mr. Cennick to the archbishop of Armagh, and through him to the bishop of Down and Connor, to whose diocese Ballinderry belongs, further oppression ceased. Both

* All these places lie in the vicinity of the spot where Gracehill now stands.

prelates treated Cennick not only with civility but kindness, and the bishop of Down gave him a pressing invitation to preach in the southern and western parts of Ireland.

By the end of November, 1751, a large and well-built chapel was finished and opened for public worship; and on the 28th of March, 1755, the usual regulations of a *Country congregation* in union with the Brethren's Church, were introduced at Ballinderry, during a visitation of bishop Watteville. In Kilwarlin, Dromore, Crosshill, and other places, societies were established and affiliated to this congregation. Some pious people in the village of Kilkeel, in the mountains of Mourne, were likewise visited from Ballinderry, and in the sequel formed into a society, built a chapel, and obtained a resident minister.

In the county of Armagh the principal society was formed in the village of Drumargan, consisting, in 1752, of one hundred and six members. Here and in the adjacent villages of Cookhill and Derryscallop chapels were built the same year, and laborers appointed for the district, who resided at Drumargan. October 5th, 1757, during the visitation of bishop Watteville, this society received its regular organization as a *Country congregation* in union with the Brethren's Church.

In the county of Derry the Brethren formed a society in the townland of Lisnamara, which, in 1751, amounted to seventy members, among whom there were several who had left the Roman Catholic communion. A chapel was built here, and likewise at Artrea in the county of Tyrone, eight miles distant. The society was provided with a resident minister; and October 10th, 1759, thirty-one members were formed into a *Country congregation*, among whom some, who had formerly belonged to the Roman Catholics, distinguished themselves above the rest, by the correctness of their principles and the fervor of their piety.

The blessing which God granted to the labors of the Brethren in the North of Ireland, extended also to the county of Cavan. An awakening took place here in 1751, and when bishop Boehler passed through this district in the year following, he found the people busily engaged in building a chapel in the market-town of Cootehill; and two years after, Mr. La

Trobe preached in it to more than three hundred hearers. Preaching was afterwards continued by other Brethren. The first society in this country was formed in Cootehill, in 1754, to which another at Billes, on the road to Monaghan, was affiliated. A chapel was built here, and likewise at Arvogh, lying in the mountains, about thirty miles distant, south of Cootehill. These and some other places in the neighbourhood were served with the gospel by the resident minister of Cootehill, and other Brethren.

We shall close this relation of the principal places, occupied by the Brethren in the North of Ireland, with a few general remarks.

It is evident the Lord himself had preparad the way. Numerous as were the places they visited, they went to none without invitation; and wherever they directed their steps they not only met with people willing to hear, but found many whose hearts the Lord had opened to receive the gospel with joy, and who, aided by his Spirit, adorned their profession by a godly walk and conversation. The very hostility, manifested against them in some places, taught them the truth of the Scripture maxim, "they who will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution;" and obliged them to count the cost before they took up the cross to follow their Saviour.

Decision of character and sincere devotedness to God, were particularly required in those, who took an active share in cultivating this field. The ministers and their assistants in the different congregations were more especially exposed to the malevolence of enemies, and in more instances than one, were in actual danger of their lives. They likewise felt, in common with others, those difficulties, which arose from the poverty of the people, and the privations and inconveniences of living in a country, which was still in a very rude and unimproved state. Most of their dwellings, and even some of their chapels, were little better than mud-cabins. At the same time their labors were almost incessant. Besides diligently visiting the members of their congregations, they sometimes preached three or four times a day, in places at considerable distances from each other, the access to which, across bogs and mountains, was often not

only difficult but dangerous. And as they could obtain but little support from the people, who were mostly very poor, they were not ashamed to maintain themselves by the labor of their hands.

Each congregation and society was supplied with at least one ordained minister, who had one or more assistants of both sexes associated with him in the spiritual care of the flock. Other Brethren, whom God had endowed with gifts for public speaking, itinerated through the country, and preached wherever a door was opened unto them. The general superintendence of the whole work was committed to one or more Brethren, who resided in some central place. All the ministers generally met their fellow-laborers once a month, mostly at Gloonen, and constituted a Conference, in which the necessary resolutions for carrying on the work were taken. As the Missionary congregation had at this time its principal seat in England, one or other of its members was frequently deputed to hold a visitation in Ireland. These measures served to preserve agreement in doctrine and the unity of the spirit between the Irish congregations and those in other countries, and to prevent the intoduction of any thing contrary to the constitution of the Brethren's Church.

Before the close of this period of our history, it pleased the Lord to remove from the scene of his terrestrial labors the very man, who had been the chief instrument of making known the savor of his name in Ireland. John Cennick, having for nine years labored with unabated zeal, and but few and short intervals of absence, for the diffusion of evangelical truth, in this country, chiefly in the North, arrived in Dublin in the spring of 1755, and on April 12th opened the new church, built by the Brethren in Bishop-Street He continued preaching in it to crowded auditories till the 30th of June, when he proceeded to London, where he arrived on the 28th. When he alighted from his horse at the Brethrens' house in Fetter-Lane he complained of being very sick and feverish. He was immediately carried to bed and every means used for his recovery; but God had otherwise determined, and on the 4th of July, this faithful servant entered into the joy of his Lord.

Not long before his death he consented to have two volumes of his sermons printed. They have been long before the public, and read with profit by many; and though, considered merely as literary compositions, they can lay little or no claim to merit, yet this will not lessen their value in the estimation of the Christian, who will find the fundamental doctrines of the gospel set forth with artless simplicity, and in a manner, which could not fail to reach the hearts and consciences of his hearers. It is evident the preacher felt what he spoke. He also composed several hymns, some of which are inserted in the Brethren's hymn-book.

"Mr. Cennick," says his biographer, "was rather below the middle stature, of a fair countenance, but of a fairer mind. A good understanding, an open temper, and a tender heart, characterised the man. His Christian qualities were not less distinguishable. If unaffected humility, deadness to the world, a life of communion with God, and a cheerful reliance on a crucified Saviour, constitute the real Christian, he was one in an eminent degree. Nor were the evidences of his call to the ministry less striking. Few ministers have felt a warmer love to Jesus Christ; few were more unwearied in preaching his gospel; few triumphed more in his cross, or suffered more patiently in his cause. As to success in his labors, perhaps there was not one, in his day, except Mr. Whitfield, more highly honored in this particular. It is true, his language was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, yet his doctrine and address were powerful, and found access to the hearts of thousands. The gospel he so diligently and faithfully dispensed was the food of his own soul. He drank deeply of the cup of religious pleasure. His altar was not to an unknown God; he exalted not a Saviour, whose virtues he had never proved; he pointed not to a Spirit, under whose almighty influence he had not lived; he directed not to heaven, the happiness of which he had not anticipated. His career was short, but if life may be estimated by the comparative quantity of good produced in it, then this truly active, spiritual, and useful man, may be said to have lived to a good old age."*

* Wilks' Edition of Cennick's Discourses, vol. i. p. 39.

## SECTION VI.

*Further extension of the Brethren's labors in* EUROPE—*They form connections in* SWITZERLAND—*Establish congregations and Societies in* HOLLAND—*Enlarge their acquaintance in* DENMARK, *and form a Settlement in* HOLSTEIN, *but are obliged to quit it—Send Deputations to* NORWAY *and* SWEDEN.

THERE was hardly a Protestant kingdom or state in Europe, to which the Brethren did not extend their labors during this period. This was occasioned partly by the journies of count Zinzendorf, and of Brethren and Sisters going as missionaries to the Heathen, or as colonists to North-America and other places; and partly by the desire of friends, who requested a personal interview, and by the invitation of noblemen and princes, offering them land to form settlements in their respective sovereignties. For though the Brethren had not the most distant wish to make proselytes from other Christian communities; they accounted it a privilege, whenever an opportunity offered, to make known the savor of Christ's name in every town or village through which they passed; and they considered it their duty to satisfy every enquiry respecting their own Church, and to assist other Christians in their endeavours to promote true religion and piety. In this way they found entrance into several European states.

Among these, Switzerland was one of the first countries they visited. By occasion of baron Frederick von Watteville's visit to his father and other relations at Bern, several ministers in that town, having thereby obtained a more correct knowledge of the Brethren's Church, solicited their assistance in the spiritual care of the more pious members in their congregations. In 1740, count Zinzendorf and the Missionary congregation, consisting of more than forty persons, resided for nearly three months at Geneva, observing, as far as practicable, every regulation, with respect to religious worship and external order in the family, usually attended to in a congregation of the Brethren. The object of this visit was to enter into a friendly correspondence with the Church at Geneva, whose founder, the

celebrated John Calvin, had in his day warmly espoused the cause of the Moravian Brethren.* To effect this the count and other Brethren had frequent personal interviews with the clergy and the professors of the university. The count compiled a Narrative, in the French language, of the Origin, Doctrine, Constitution, and History of the Brethren's Church, which he dedicated to the Church of Geneva. A copy of it was presented by the ministers of the Brethren's Church, to the Geneva Ecclesiastical Council at a special meeting convened for that purpose. The Council by their moderator and other deputies, returned a very polite answer, declaring, " that they considered themselves highly honoured by receiving from the hand of the bishop of the Brethren's Church, so precious a document concerning its history, faith and constitution. They had the less reason to doubt its veracity, as they had themselves had an opportunity during the count's residence at Geneva to observe his wise and pious conduct, coupled with apostolical zeal. They therefore wished that his labor and solicitude for the honor of our Saviour, King, and Master, might be universally followed by the happiest effects, till the whole earth should be filled with the glory of the Lord."†

The result of these negociations was, that the divines of Geneva were in general well convinced of the orthodoxy of the Brethren's Church ; but as the errors of Pelagius and Socinus were already then gaining ground in that city, very few of the great or learned were disposed to form an intimacy with them, lest they should share in the offence of the cross of Christ. Among the middle and lower classes of society, they found many, to whom their acquaintance was welcome and profitable. This was likewise the case at Arau, Basle, Schafhausen and other places ; and especially at Montmirail, in the principality of Neufchatel, where a few years after an institution for the education of young ladies was established, and is still continued under the direction of the Brethren.

Bishop Spangenberg, passing through Holland in 1735, on his way to Georgia, was commissioned to treat with the Suri-

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* See p. 99. † Bued. Coll. Vol. II. 662.

nam Company, respecting a mission to South-America. These negociations introduced him to several persons, who thereby gained a love and esteem for the Brethren. Mr. Isaac Lelong in particular was so much pleased with the relations of Spangenberg, and some written documents concerning their Church, which he was employed to translate into the Dutch language, that he communicated them to the public through the press, in a small work, entitled, "The Wonders of God with his Church." This publication induced many persons, both among the clergy and laity, to cultivate their acquaintance, and they were invited to establish missions in Guinea, Rio de Berbice, and other countries. The Princess dowager of Orange addressed a letter to count Zinzendorf, making enquiry concerning the authenticity of the accounts published by Lelong, and inviting him to a personal interview at Leuwerden.

This induced the count to go to Holland in 1736, accompanied by his lady and part of his family. He fixed his residence at Amsterdam. Here he became acquainted with many zealous and pious clergymen, who, notwithstanding a difference in opinion, between him and them, on some doctrinal subjects, honored and loved him as a devoted and eminently gifted servant of Christ. He had also much intercourse with the Mennonists, whom he endeavoured to convince of the errors of Socinianism, which were secretly spreading among them; nor were his endeavours altogether fruitless. Even the celebrated leader of modern Socinians, Samuel Crellius, sought an interview with him, which by the blessing of God led to the conversion of his daughters, and made a strong and it is hoped a salutary impression on his own mind.*

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* On this subject the English translation of Crantz's History of the Brethren, has the following note: "The writings of Artimonius or Samuel Crellius, are well known. He was a Socinian, and a leader of that party. He is still quoted as one of their strongest advocates, but the endless mercy of our Lord was also manifest in him. He not only rejoiced to see his daughters bow their knees to the crucified Jesus, but he himself turned to that Lord and called upon him as his Lord and God: and found at the latter end of his life no consolation but in the atonement by the blood of Jesus. He wished that all his books could die

On his way to Leuwerden count Zinzendorf passed through Groeningen, where he preached in the Lutheran church, and had much conversation with several divines and learned men. These had either misunderstood him or purposely wrested his words, which led to a warm and unpleasant controversy, in which not only the count and the Brethren, but many of their friends were implicated. All who had frequented the Brethren's meetings here or at Amsterdam, were called Moravians, and the opinions of any individual, however extravagant, were charged on the whole body, and reports, originating in the basest falsehood, were circulated, that the Brethren aimed at forming a political party in favor of the Prince of Orange.

Meanwhile the interview of count Zinzendorf with the Princess of Orange, terminated in a solicitation on her part, for the Brethren to form a settlement in the barony of Ysselstein. Her wish was acceded to, and a beginning made to erect the necessary buildings. This was the first settlement formed in Holland, and received the name of HERENDYK. It was chiefly intended as a place of accommodation for the missionaries of the Brethren's Church, while they were preparing for

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with him. This has been testified, not only by his daughters, but by all who were with him before his end."

This account of Crellius is confirmed by count Zinzendorf who says of him: "There was more reality in his conversion than some were inclined to believe. I have disputed more with this man, than with any one else, who held erroneous doctrines; and he clearly apprehended the article of a sinner's justification before God, and the satisfaction made by Christ. But my son-in-law, bishop von Watteville, was the principal instrument in his conversion. For two years he was never once absent from our meetings at Amsterdam, whatever the weather might be; and I have often been put to shame by the perseverance of this man who was then eighty years old. All the members of his family joined the Brethren's congregation in Amsterdam. Shortly before his death he repeated the following verse of one of the Brethren's hymns:

And when my Saviour I shall see,
Then this shall be my only plea;
Here comes a sinner, who would fain
Through the Lamb's ransom entrance gain.

*(See Natur. Reflections, p. 247—250, where more particulars are mentioned.)*

their voyage. The increase of this colony, however, was never great, and such inconveniences and difficulties presented themselves, that its further extension was found ineligible. At a later period it was wholly evacuated, the buildings were sold, and the inhabitants removed to other places, chiefly to ZEIST, where, in 1748, a beginning was made to form a settlement.

Zeist forms a barony in the Province of Utrecht, lying near the town of that name. This barony had been purchased by a gentleman from Amsterdam, with a view to the building of a Settlement of the Brethren. It consists of two squares, lying between the old village and the castle. The well built houses, some of which are handsome structures, the stately avenues of trees and the fine gardens, added to the natural beauty of the place, have always rendered this Settlement the admiration of visiters. From its very commencement it has, in a remarkable manner, enjoyed the patronage and protection of the States of Utrecht; and by affording every person, who visited it, an opportunity of being an eye witness of the beneficial influence of the Brethren's doctrine and discipline, it has done more towards silencing the calumnies of their opponents than the ablest verbal and printed refutations.

At present Zeist is the only settlement of the Brethren in Holland; but soon after their entrance into the country, they formed Societies and Congregations, on the plan of those established in Great Britian: of which those at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, and the Hague, were the principal, and, during this period, generally in a flourishing state.

The favourable auspices under which the Brethren commenced their labors in Holland, were soon followed by threatening appearances. Some clergymen of the Reformed, or Calvinistic, Church, under pretence of zeal for the purity of doctrine and the peace of the Church, compiled a collection of sundry opinions and sentiments, said to have been advanced by count Zinzendorf and other Brethren, which they branded as erroneous in doctrine and subversive of morality. This document being submitted to the Synod of the Reformed Church in South Holland, was received by the Ecclesiastical Council of Amsterdam, which in consequence issued a "*Fatherly Pastoral*

*Letter.*" In this letter they warned all tha members of the Reformed Church against the Brethren, as a heretical and dangerous sect.* Four members of the Council entered a solemn protest against the Pastoral Letter, urging the unfairness of accusing the Brethren without giving them an opportunity of answering for themselves, though they had repeatedly solicited an examination of their doctrine and discipline. But the majority carried the point, and the Pastoral Letter was ordered to be printed. Its publication however was deferred in consequence of a remonstrance from the magistrates of Amsterdam.

In the mean time count Zinzendorf wrote to the Ecclesiastical Council requesting to be furnished with a list of all the accusations against him and the Brethren. The council, however, thought fit to take no notice of this reasonable request: and the answers in defence of himself and his Brethren, sent to some individuals among their opponents, who were men of much influence, were equally disregarded. The Pastoral Letter was published in October, 1738. At first the magistrates prohibited its circulation; but were afterwards compelled to allow the sale of it, in order to quell a ferment among the populace, as, for reasons which require no explanation, questions purely political had been dexterously introduced into the controversy. All the magistracy could do was publicly to reprehend the conduct of the Council, and appeal to their own consciences for the injustice of their proceedings, and forbid similar proceedings in future without authority from the civil power. Fully persuaded that the magistrates connived at an act of acknowledged injustice solely for the purpose of preventing a greater evil; the Brethren considered it their duty to suffer and be silent, convinced that their suffering wrongfully would procure them

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* The Pastoral Letter is printed in the 2nd. Volume of the Buedinger Collections. The charges preferred against the Brethren, rest solely on the truth or falsehood of certain expressions *said* to have been used by count Zinzendorf and others, in their public discourses and private conversations, but which were either misunderstood or purposely perverted.

more real esteem, than their adversaries could gain by their supposed victory. Though conscious of mistakes, they trusted to the general rectitude of their conduct, which on closer inspection, they felt confident, would prove their innocence. Yet they felt grieved that, through the malevolence of their opponents, their fair prospects of being permitted to carry the gospel to various heathen countries, then dependent on Holland, were blighted. But, committing themselves and their way to the Lord; and, confidently relying on his almighty aid, they continued their labors without fear or distraction.

In Denmark the acquaintance of pious persons with the Brethren commenced in 1727, and was renewed and increased by occasion of their sending missionaries to Greenland. They met with a very favourable reception from persons of the greatest influence, both in Church and State, and cultivated the friendship of many private families and individuals in the capital and the adjacent country. The King himself received them with great condescension, applauded their zeal for the conversion of the heathen, and assured them of his protection. Nor did he alter his good opinion of them, in consequence of some accusations against count Zinzendorf. For, when the count, in 1735, repaired in person to Copenhagen, and solicited a strict examination, he was honored with a message from the king, declaring "that his Majesty had nothing against him and the Brethren, and would continue to manifest the same affection for them, which they had hitherto experienced." In the sequel, however, their adversaries succeeded in obtaining two oppressive edicts, by which the removal of any of his Majesty's Danish subjects to a settlement of the Brethren was rendered extremely difficult. Yet as their foreign Missions were still patronized by the government, the Brethren, travelling to and from Greenland and the Danish West Indies, found many sincere friends, both in Copenhagen and other places, to whom their private intercourse was rendered the means of much spiritual edification. A society in connection with the Brethren's Church was formed in the capital, and has continued ever since.

After all further reception of Moravian emigrants at Herrnhut had been prohibited, the Brethren in 1734 sent a deputa-

tion to Holstein, which was empowered to look out for a suitable place, where a settlement might be formed, for the accommodation of those exiles, who were descended from the ancient Brethren. Near Neumuenster they found a place well adapted for a colony, and the reigning Duke was disposed to receive them and further their designs, but the Consistory threw insurmountable obstacles in the way. They therefore relinquished the formation of a settlement in Ducal Holstein, and turned their attention to that part of the country, which belonged to the crown of Denmark. Here they met with several friends, both at court and among the clergy, and obtained more enlarged privileges, than were granted them in other places. They began building a settlement near Oldeslohe (17 miles west of Lubeck) and called it PILGERRUH. For some time they enjoyed the favor of every one; but of none more so, than of the Superintendent general, who had been the principal promoter of their settling in royal Holstein. He inducted their minister, John George Waiblinger, M. A. a Moravian emigrant, who had been ordained by bishop David Nitschmann; and at his request two Brethren were sent into the district of Tondern, to assist in allaying the heats of controversy between the clergy and the separatists, being furnished by him with letters patent to act as mediators. It was not long, however, before these fair prospects were blighted.

The Danish government by degrees required the inhabitants of Pilgerruh to renounce all connection with count Zinzendorf* and the congregation at Herrnhut; imposing likewise some other restrictions. Fresh negociations with the court of Denmark were set on foot, but proved unavailing. The inhabitants began to feel the injurious consequences of being, in a great measure, cut off from communion with their brethren at

* As soon as count Zinzendorf, who, in consequence of increasing accusations, began to lose favor at the court of Denmark, heard of this order, he, by a public instrument relinquished his episcopal authority over Pilgerruh, and it was conferred on bishop P. Mueller, who, before his union with the Brethren had been an ordained and highly respected minister of the Lutheran Church, against whom, it was supposed, no objections would be entertained.

Herrnhut, and acknowledged that they had acted with too much precipitance in forming the settlement, which indeed had been done contrary to the advice of count Zinzendorf and others. They therefore solicited and obtained permission from the government to evacuate it. They began their removal in 1741 ; and gradually disposed of the land and houses.

About the year 1737, two brethren from Herrnhut came to Norway. They went to Christiania, and took up their abode in the house of Maria Freyman, a decided Christian and devoted follower of the Lord, whose father was a descendant of the Bohemian Brethren.* Their arrival was no sooner known, than their lodging was thronged by persons of all ranks, who, having heard much of Herrnhut, were eager to obtain fuller information. The bishop of Christiania, the Right Rev. Dr. Haslop, at first opposed the Brethren, but on an humble representation made to him by Miss Freyman, that they loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity, he withdrew his opposition, and became their firm friend, advocating their cause, whenever an opportunity offered. Of this the following is an instance. One day the viceroy sent a messenger to the Brethren's meeting, ordering him to note down the names of all who were present. The day after he invited the bishop and other persons of rank to dine with him. After dinner he gave the list, containing the names of those who had attended the Brethren's meeting, to the bishop. Having looked at the paper, he kissed it, saying : " these people are my bosom friends ; whosoever toucheth them toucheth the apple of God's eye." A general silence ensued, and for that time no farther obstacle was laid in their

* Her great grandfather suffered martyrdom in Prague ; and her grandfather fled to Norway during a persecution in Bohemia. Her father had been an officer in the Danish army. When the Brethren arrived in the country, she resided in Christiania, and kept a boarding-school for young ladies of superior rank. Her mother lived with her. Both she and the daughter were highly respected for their piety and mental endowments. Some time after, Miss Freyman left her native country, and moved to one of the Brethren's settlements in Germany. She departed this life at Herrnhut, in 1791, at the advanced age of eighty-two years.

way. They not only continued their labors in Christiania, but extended them to other parts of the kingdom.

Their tranquillity was interrupted by the death of bishop Haslop. His successor being less favorably disposed, their enemies felt under less restraint, and proceeded to open violence. One day, while the friends of the Brethren in Christiania were assembled, three magistrates, attended by four constables, and a party of the city guard, entered the house of Miss Freyman, where the meetings were held. Chairs were placed for them, and for a while they listened with apparent attention to the discourse. Suddenly one of them rose up, and, with horrid imprecations, struck the preacher a blow on the breast, accusing Miss Freyman of harboring vagrants. They were proceeding to take the preacher prisoner, when Miss Freyman interposed, telling them, that, if they took him to prison, she and all the company would follow him. This intimidated them; they however left four soldiers, as a guard in the house. Miss Freyman immediately wrote a letter to the king, and another to the lord lieutenant, who happened to be absent from Christiania. But, before an answer could arrive, she and her friends were summoned to appear before the town council. As they walked along, the streets were crowded to such a degree, that the soldiers had to clear the way. The council-chamber being found too small, they adjourned to the large saloon in the castle. Here they were kept from one o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening, and interrogated respecting their connection with the Brethren and the doctrines they taught, and were loaden with reproaches. Money had been secretly given to the populace, who collected in great crowds, and threw dirt and stones at them, as they were returning home, crying out; "there goes the Virgin Mary with her worshippers." But others, of a different mind, exclaimed, "Such a tumult has never before been witnessed in Christiania; God will assuredly punish the town for this wicked treatment of his children."

The following day Miss Freyman was again conducted to the town hall. She was treated with more civility, and after some frivolous excuses for their behavior on the preceding day,

was dismissed, and conducted home by the city guard, having offered bail for the Brethren's minister. Some weeks after, the king's answer arrived, written with his own hand, and addressed to the lord lieutenant, in which his Majesty expressed in very strong terms his disapprobation of the late proceedings in Christiania, and declared it "to be his royal pleasure, that the Brethren should not be molested, but treated with all due respect, as being a people of God." Their adversaries, either ashamed of their proceedings, or finding themselves baffled in their intentions, laid no further obstacles in their way. The Brethren continued their labors without molestation, and extended them to other towns. The number of their friends increased, several clergymen espoused their cause; and though trials and opposition were not wanting, yet, protected by government, and richly experiencing the divine blessing, several Societies in union with the Brethren's Church were, by degrees, formed in this kingdom.

In Sweden the Brethren became known in 1741. Various reports of the revival of their Church had reached that kingdom. As these reports were very contradictory, and consequently calculated to mislead serious inquirers, the Synodal Conference, held at Marienborn in the above-mentioned year, resolved to send a deputation to that country, and nominated Martin Dober and Arvid Gradin* for this purpose. Their

* Arvid Gradin was a native of Sweden, his father being parish minister of Wika, in Dalecarlia, where Arvid was born, in 1704. He received the rudiments of education in his father's house under the direction of a private tutor; and in the sequel frequented the academy at Westeras, and the university at Upsal. He was designed for the clerical profession, and occasionally officiated as probationer for the ministry. But, having imbibed separatistical notions, and deeming it impossible to discharge his pastoral duties, with that faithfulness, which their high importance required; he resolved to relinquish his design of becoming a clergyman, and bent all his energies to the study of philosophy, in the expectation of once occupying a Professor's chair in the university. His academical studies having terminated in 1731, he engaged as private tutor in the family of baron von Cederstroem at Stockholm, who was then secretary of state; and remained in that situation five years.

During this period he experienced that change, which in Scripture is termed being born again; and being soon after made attentive to the

proceedings, in executing this commission, shall be related in the words of the latter:

"We landed at Stockholm on the 16th of October, 1741, and immediately hastened to Upsal, in order to wait on the archbishop. He had formerly known and respected me; but now expressed his regret, that I had departed from the evangelical doctrine of the Lutheran Church. I assured him, that instead of having my faith in the evangelical doctrine weakened, it had been considerably strengthened, by my connection with the Brethren; and that I placed all my hopes of salvation solely on the atonement of Jesus. This declaration gave him evident pleasure; and he replied, 'this is also the foundation of my faith, and shall remain so till the end of my life.' Having presented him with a concise narrative of the origin, history, and constitution of the Brethren's Church, he declared himself fully satisfied, and remarked, that it deserved to be made generally known, adding: 'I am convinced of your good intention, and doubt not, that your laudable endeavours will be attended with success!' By his advice we visited two professors of divinity, who received us with similar marks of friendship.

"We now returned to Stockholm, and as the season was already far advanced, brother Dober took shipping for Germany; but I remained in Sweden, agreeably to the instructions I had received, in order to increase the number of our acquaintances. The first minister in the city, the Rev. Dr.

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renewal of the Brethren's Church, he began a correspondence with some of its members, and formed a resolution of visiting Herrnhut. He therefore resigned his office as tutor; and as the baron took it for granted, that his only object in travelling was to improve his literary knowledge, he determined that his second son should accompany him. With him Mr. Gradin spent nearly two years in making the tour of Germany and France, and having left him, with the father's consent, at Marburg, he proceeded himself to Herrnhut, where he arrived in 1738. An offer which was some time after made him by his former patron to fill a Professor's chair in the university at Upsal, he declined, being satisfied in his own mind, that God had called him to serve him in the Brethren's Church. He closed his active and useful life in 1757, at Neuwied, where he had for some years held the office of minister.

Alstrin, one of my former teachers in the university, opened his house to me, and treated me as one of his family. Having succeeded in removing some scruples he entertained respecting my religious principles, and particularly my connection with the Brethren; he shewed me the greatest affection, made me his confident, and requested me to call on some ministers, with whose conduct he was not quite satisfied, in the hope, that my advice might have a good effect. Through his interference, as president of the consistory, I obtained permission to preach in the city, which I did in several churches. Similar liberty was granted me by the bishop of Westeras in his diocese.

"I stayed a considerable time in West Gothland, partly with countess Stenbock in Biurom, and partly with the Rev. Mr. Tengbom at Fremmesta. I preached several times to very crowded auditories, the people flocking to the church from the distance of forty and more miles. There were four or five hundred persons, seriously intent on making their calling and election sure. In Gottenburg I became acquainted with four clergymen who preached the gospel in its purity."

Gradin returned to Germany in 1742. Though several years elapsed before the Brethren formed any Societies in Sweden, in connection with their Church; the deputation had the good effect of removing various prejudices and misconceptions respecting their doctrine and constitution.

## SECTION VII.

*The Brethren commence their labors in* LIVONIA *with very encouraging prospects—Meet with great opposition—Four Brethren are imprisoned and kept in confinement for several years—Count* ZINZENDORF *arrives at* RIGA*—Is arrested and obliged to quit the* RUSSIAN *dominions—*GRADIN *is sent as Deputy to* PETERSBURG*—He is kept under arrest for five years, and returns to* GERMANY.

A FEW years prior to this period of our history, several noblemen and clergymen in Livonia,* having received intelli-

* Livonia and the adjoining province of Esthonia, were, in 1721, ceded to the emperor of Russia by their former sovereign the king of

gence of the establishment at Herrnhut, solicited a visit from the Brethren. In compliance with this request Christian David and David Nitschmann went thither in 1729 and 1730. Six years after, count Zinzendorf took a journey to Livonia, and, among other persons of distinction, paid visits to the Superintendent-general, the Rev. Mr. Fisher, to general von Campenhausen, and lady von Hallert, relict of general von Hallert, a pious lady from Saxony, by whose instrumentality several zealous and evangelical ministers from Halle were introduced into the Lutheran Church in the dominions of Russia. He preached several times both at Reval and Riga, had interviews with many of the clergy, to whom he gave much useful advice relative to their labors among the Esthonians and Lettonians, and opened a subscription for printing Bibles at a low price for the benefit of the peasantry.

The count's visit paved the way for the admission of the Brethren into Livonia. Several persons of rank and respectability solicited him to provide them with Brethren, to engage as private tutors to their children, and as domestics in their families. Some clergymen likewise applied for assistants in the care of souls, and especially in the instruction of the youths in their parishes. Lady Hallert, in particular, requested a family chaplain and catechist for a seminary instituted by her on her estate of Wolmarshof, for the purpose of training some of the native youths for schoolmasters. Proper subjects for these situations were not wanting at a time, when almost every individual, belonging to the Brethren's Church, considered himself pledged to the Lord, to be ready for his service, wherever his providence should lead him.

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Sweden. On this occasion several civil and ecclesiastical privileges were granted to the gentry and citizens of these provinces, who were mostly of German and Swedish descent. The original inhabitants, called Lettonians and Esthonians, still retained many heathenish customs; though the greater part had submitted to baptism, either by persuasion or compulsion, attended the ordinances of the Christian religion, and were called Christians. They were, till very lately, in a state of the most oppressive vassalage, little short of absolute slavery. The Lutheran is the established religion in these provinces.

Five Brethren were consequently sent to Livonia in 1737. One of these Magnus Frederick Buntebart, late a student of divinity at Jena, resided at Wolmarshorf, where lady Hallert entrusted him with the direction of her Seminary. Having with credit to himself, and to the entire satisfaction of the Superintendent general, passed his examination, he was appointed assistant to the Rev. Mr. Barlach, the parish minister of Wolmarshof. His instructions in the seminary and his discourses from the pulpit, were blessed by God for the awakening of many Lettonians, so that in a short time the number of those, who seriously desired to know the way of salvation, amounted to thousands. This occasioned a considerable sensation throughout the country, and awakened the jealousy of some, who were rather inimical to the Brethren. A special visitation was appointed by the ecclesiastical court, to examine into the state of the seminary at Wolmarshof. This examination took place in 1739, and terminated in favor of the Institution. The gentlemen, who conducted the visitation, not only expressed their approbation of the seminary, but recommended it to the notice of the nobility and clergy in general; in consequence of which the number of pupils increased to seventy. Their parents frequently visited them and were present at their religious instruction. Hereby not only the original design of the institution was attained, but, by the blessing of God, religious knowledge was more generally diffused, and spread into different parts of the country.*

More laborers being now required, not only at Wolmarshof but in many other places, the Brethren were again applied to for assistance; and they were not backward in aiding a cause, which God had hitherto signally blessed. Among these Missionaries, (for so they may very properly be called) there were some, who had received a learned education, and were usually employed as tutors in noblemen's families, or as assistants to the parish ministers. They were always presented for examin-

* How much instruction in Christianity was at that time needed in Livonia is evident from this circumstance, that the Rev. J. C. Quandt at Urbs destroyed, in his parish alone, above eighty groves, used as places for sacrifice and other idolatrous rites.

ation to the Superintendent, and his sanction was required. Others were mechanics. These were stationed as schoolmasters in the country, or, while carrying on their trades, employed their hours of leisure in instructing the natives in Christianity. By this means several manufactures, hitherto unknown in Livonia, were introduced into the country.

The improvement of the temporal condition of the Livonians, however, was not the chief object of the Brethren. Their first and principal care was to be instrumental in delivering them from that spiritual bondage, in which they were held by sin and Satan, and God was pleased signally to bless their labors. In many districts every parish, and in many parishes, almost every family, became seriously impressed with the truths of the gospel. A striking change took place in their moral deportment. Gluttony and drunkenness, vices to which they had been much addicted, were laid aside, and the time, formerly spent in alehouses, was now occupied in useful conversation, in reading the Bible, in prayer and singing hymns.

Esthonia likewise partook, both of the labors of the Brethren, and the blessing which attended them. Here, as in Livonia, they were countenanced both by the nobility and clergy, the latter gladly availing themselves of their assistance in the care of souls. Some Brethren were also engaged as teachers in the collegiate school at Reval, the capital of Esthonia. Every thing proceeded in good order till the year 1741, when, through the indiscretion of the Rev. Mr. Mikwiz, a temporary stop was put to their labors. Mikwiz was a faithful pastor, who preached the gospel with power and demonstration of the Spirit. Being zealous for the introduction of a purer discipline in the Church, he by degrees introduced in his (Lutheran) congregation several regulations, borrowed from the constitution of the ancient Brethren, as described by Amos Comenius. His authority, as the first minister at Reval, induced many other clergymen to imitate his example; to which they were the more inclined, not only from a desire of pleasing him, but, because the impression made on their minds by the gospel, led them in the first fervor of zeal to overstep the bounds of prudence. Not content with extolling the Moravian ecclesiastical constitution, Mikwiz

introduced those Brethren, who had been sent to him and his colleagues merely as private assistants in their spiritual labors, and some of whom had not received a learned education, into the Synods of the national Church, and appointed them to preach on the most solemn occasions.

On the part of Mikwiz these proceedings were undoubtedly wrong, for while he continued a minister of the Lutheran Church, he had no right to alter any part of its constitution without higher authority. Nor are those Brethren less reprehensible, who lent him their aid in making these innovations, for they acted contrary to the instructions they had received when they were sent into these provinces. The number of the guilty, however, was comparatively small, and the Brethren in general protested against these measures. But the error had once been committed, and its injurious consequences were not so easily removed. Much confusion ensued, and a popular tumult threatened the tranquillity of Reval. Many clergymen, who at first favored them, drew back and endeavoured to clear themselves, by throwing the whole blame on the Brethren, who in reality had been drawn into these measures through ignorance of the constitution of the country. In some time the storm blew over, their innocence became manifest, and they prosecuted their labors in a more retired manner, but with evident blessing. The favorable testimonies of those of their vassals, who were in connection with the Brethren's Church, delivered by some noblemen at the Imperial court, and other circumstances, of which more will be said in the sequel, gradually lessened the hostility against the Brethren, and for a while procured them rest and the protection of government.

Much about the same time, two zealous Lutheran clergymen in the island of Oesel,* the Rev. Eberhard Gutsleff, and the Rev. Francis Hoelterhof, solicited the assistance of the Brethren. The former was rector of Arensburg, and as Superintendent had the oversight of twelve congregations. Hoelterhof, after

* Oesel is a large island in the Baltic, on the coast of Livonia, belonging to Russia. The inhabitants are mostly Esthonians. The established religion is Lutheran.

finishing his studies at the university at Reval, engaged himself as private tutor in the familyof Gutsleff, who was then minister of the Church of St. Olaus. Thus were two men brought together, whom God designed for eminent services in his Church, and whom he honored to suffer reproach and persecution for his name. In this situation, in which he remained three years, Hoelterhof made himself master of the Esthonian language. His worth soon became known, so that in one day he received presentations to two livings. His choice lay between one of the most respectable and richest parishes in Livonia, and another in every respect the very reverse. He decided in favor of the latter, chiefly to avoid the temptation of setting his heart on worldly riches. The situation he accepted was that of assistant minister, and inspector of the school at Arensburg, the capital of Oesel. Not long after Gutsleff was appointed Superintendent of this district, and thus these two friends were again united, as fellow laborers in the same part of their master's vineyard.

In 1740, he accepted a vocation to the parish of Jamma in the same diocese. Here his labors were unremitting. Besides the regular service in the parish church, he went every sunday to the adjacent villages, for the purpose of bringing the message of reconciliation to those of his parishoners, who could not come to church. Multitudes followed him from place to place, and his testimony of Christ Crucified approved itself as the power and wisdom of God to the poor and oppressed Esthonians. Every day in the week, his house was literally besieged by visiters, who came singly and in companies to inquire, what they must do to be saved. Nor was this a transient impression; but the seed of the divine Word fell into good ground, and brought forth the fruits of righteousness. Many of these oppressed vassals, who in the days of their ignorance had thought it no sin to defraud their proprietors, were now convinced of its guilt. They almost stripped themselves of the little they possessed, and conveyed provisions and household furniture to their lords, which they offered them as a compensation for what they had formerly purloined.

This effect of the gospel on their vassals opened the eyes of the nobility. They exchanged their former hostility for ill

judged and unseasonable commendations, and upbraided those clergymen, whose ministry was not equally successful. Enraged at this, the other ministers lodged a complaint against Hoelterhof with the Superintendent Gutsleff, demanding his ejection as a teacher of false doctrine. Gutsleff proposed a convention of the clergy, for the purpose of examining the doctrine and conduct of his friend. With this they were not satisfied, but insisted on his immediate expulsion; and when the Superintendent roundly refused his consent, they grew angry and left him with these words: "Sir, you will have to thank yourself, if you and Hoelterhof meet the same fate." Hereupon they applied to the lord lieutenant whose enmity to the Brethren was well known. He appointed a Commission, consisting of clergymen and lawyers, before whom Hoelterhof was cited to appear. The investigation being unproductive of any decisive results, the Commission resolved to demand of Hoelterhof to sign a reverse by which he would obligate himself to give up all intercourse and connection with the Brethren, and to warn his parishioners against them as a most heretical sect. As he refused compliance, the Commission informed him, that he must abide the consequences. What these were the reader will learn in the sequel: we must now see what befel the Superintendent.

The ministry of Gutsleff in Arensburg, and the neighbouring villages, like that of his friend in Jamma, was blessed for the awakening and conversion of many, among whom were several noble families, and some country clergymen. Among other proofs of the general reform that took place, it may be mentioned that during the period of five years, from 1740 to 1745, not a single criminal process occurred, and many publicans were compelled to shut up their houses, there being scarce any demand for ale and spirituous liquors.

Gutsleff was assisted in his labors by a Brother of the name of Forstmam, who instructed his children, and usually preached once on Sundays, as the Superintendent had to deliver four sermons in the German and Esthonian languages. He had also a man and his wife living with him, who were members of the Brethren's Church. This connection with the Brethren, as in

the case of his friend, was construed into a crime, and occasioned the appointment of a Commission. The Commissioners arrived at his house in June, 1743, and instantly put him under arrest. He was, however, allowed to continue his ministerial functions under the guard of a Soldier. When he preached the soldier stood under the pulpit, when he administered the sacrament he took his station at the communion table, and when he visited his parishioners the guard followed close at his heels. In about three weeks the guard was dismissed: but the Commissioners continued their investigation. The result was, that all religious meetings, except the public services in the Church, were peremptorily forbidden. A report of the proceedings of the Commission was sent to Petersburg: but being very voluminous no attention was paid to it. Some deans and other clergymen submitted a remonstrance to government, protesting against the unjustifiable proceedings of the Commission.

A season of rest now ensued. During this period two other laborers joined those already employed. One of them, John Gottlob Fritsche, was a native of Upper Lusatia, and while yet a young man became a decided Christian. After completing his studies at the university of Leipzig he removed to Herrnhut in 1737, and was received a member of the Brethren's Church. His talents and piety, joined to a truly missionary spirit, soon pointed him out as a useful instrument for the work; and he readily accepted a vocation to Livonia. He went thither in 1748, snd fixed his residence in the house of Mr. Von Nolken, in Kangern in the Island of Oesel. This gentleman had set on foot a small institution for the education of children, which Fritsche was called to superintend.

The other laborer was David Sigismund Kruegelstein; likewise a native of Upper Lusatia, and by profession a physician. He soon obtained extensive practice, and as his residence was not far from Herrnhut, he occasionally went thither. On one of these visits, being requested to attend a sick sister, he was greatly struck when he heard her speak, not only with composure but delight, of the probability of her speedy dissolution. Desirous of ascertaining how far she was sincere, Kruegelstein plainly told her that she would be a corpse the next day. Over-

joyed at this intelligence she kissed his hand. This occurrence and the happy death of the patient, had a most beneficial influence on the Doctor. It revived the serious impressions of his early youth, and by the grace of God, proved the means of his conversion. Not long after he joined the Brethren's Church, fixed his abode in Herrnhut, and married. In 1738, he was called to Livonia, He and his wife resided for some time with lady Hallart in Wolmarshof, and afterwards removed to Brinkenhof. In both places he practised as a physician, being at the same time entrusted with the superintendence of the laborers of the Brethren in this and the adjoining provinces.

After enjoying rest for about five years, a fresh storm gathered, which, beginning its destructive effects in the island of Oesel, extended to the main-land, and for some years left the Brethren nothing to do, but to pray, believe, and hope, and wait with patience for the Lord to re-open the door in Russia, which their enemies were determined to shut for ever.

To effect their purpose, the adversaries resorted to the following measure. They intercepted two letters, the one written by Kruegelstein to the Superintendent Gutsleff, and another addressed by Fritsche to Kruegelstein. Neither of these letters contained any expression in the least inimical to the government of Livonia. But, by wilfully misunderstanding some expressions and allusions to scripture texts, they represented the Brethren as in league with the Swedes, and ready to assist them in reconquering Livonia. A similarly base construction they put on some expressions which had dropped from Hoelterhof, who in one of his sermons had quoted an old Lutheran hymn, in which Christ is called "the refuge of the oppressed." By this, they pretended the preacher meant, the opposite rocky coast of Sweden, which might serve as a place of refuge to the Esthonians, if persecuted in Oesel.

By these vile insinuations, they gained on the credulity of one of the magistrates in the island, who was the more likely to serve their purpose, as he was no friend to the Brethren. Under the sanction of his authority, the two clergymen were apprehended, lodged in the castle of Arensburg, and confined in separate cells. Fritsche, on hearing this, being advised

to give up his school, prepared to return to Germany; but was pursued and arrested. A similar fate fell to the lot of Kruegelstein, who was apprehended while visiting a patient. The four prisoners were conducted to Petersburg by different routes, so that Gutsleff and Hoelterhof remained for some time ignorant of the arrival of the other two. They were confined in separate cells in the citadel, each being moreover guarded by three soldiers, who were relieved by others every third day. A few days after their imprisonment each underwent a separate examination. Though they could with the strictest truth, refute the charges of sedition and heresy, which were brought against them; yet their enemies, by their misrepresentations and calumnies, succeeded in rendering them suspected by her Imperial Majesty. They were, therefore, remanded to prison, and more closely guarded.

During the first year of their imprisonment they were treated with great severity, and often in want of the bare necessaries of life, which greatly impaired their health. About eighteen months after their imprisonment Gutsleff was released from all earthly misery by his happy death, on the 2nd of February, 1749. Some weeks before, he told Mr. Hoelterhof, who had found means of occasionally speaking to him for a few minutes, that he shortly expected to depart, and rejoiced in the confident hope of soon being at home with the Lord. The pitiable appearance of his corpse, so far softened the hearts of the adversaries that they rendered the captivity of the other Brethren less rigorous. The Secretary who had their suit in hand was so fully convinced of their innocence, that he shewed them the tenderest compassion, and often said: "Neither these people nor their parents, have brought this long imprisonment upon themselves by their sins; but it is permitted of God, that he may make manifest his work by them."

To beguile the tedium of his confinement, Hoelterhof applied himself with indefatigable diligence to the acquisition of the Russian language, and soon found the advantage of it, for it enabled him to converse with his guards. They, on their part, were so pleased with their prisoner, that they even purchased that post from their comrades By one of these soldiers

Hoelterhof found means to convey a letter to a Lutheran minister in the city, who had been a fellow student of Gutsleff's. From this gentleman he obtained some money, which he shared with his friend Gutsleff, and after his decease with Fritsche, of whose confinement till then he had heard nothing.

Fritsche was treated with greater lenity than any of his brethren. He was twice examined, and improved these opportunities for making a full disclosure of the true cause of the hostility, excited in Livonia against the Brethren, accompanied with a vindication of their doctrine, and their motives and design in coming to the country. This procured him better quarters; he was conveyed from one prison to another, and frequently confined in the same room with others. During the first four years of his confinement he counted not fewer than one hundred and forty fellow prisoners, among whom there were mothers with young infants, Christians, Mahometans, and Heathens. This, though on some accounts disagreeable, yet procured him the advantage of living in a more spacious apartment, and of being occasionally allowed to inhale fresh air before the door. Having soon learned the Russian language, he gained the respect and confidence of his fellow prisoners, who appointed him their overseer. To lessen to himself the difficulties of this post, arising from frequent quarrels about their victuals, &c. Fritsche became the general provider and cook. He invented a method of knitting caps and stockings of twisted hair, as well as of worsted, which he bought with the alms received from benevolent persons; and taught his new art to his fellow prisoners. Having obtained possession of a Russian New Testament, he not only derived comfort from its perusal for himself, but read and expounded it to the rest; and had ground to hope, that his exhortations were not altogether unproductive of spiritual benefit to some individuals.

Of the four prisoners, Kruegelstein's situation was the most deplorable. The first cell, in which he was confined, was so narrow, that he had scarce room to move, and so damp and wet, that in a few months his clothes were turned into rags, and his body greatly emaciated. A severe cough deprived him of sleep, and left him but very slender hopes of recovery.

Being very desirous of obtaining a Bible, he gave money to an officer to purchase him one; but he saw no more either of the officer or his money. Eighteen months elapsed before any of his friends could discover his place of confinement. Permission was at length given to the surgeon of the gaol to visit him, by whose mediation he was removed to a better apartment. Sometime after Mr. Koehler, surgeon of the life-guards, who in his younger years had known Kruegelstein, found means of obtaining an interview with him. The aspect of this respectable man, emaciated with hunger and sickness, with a long beard, in a ragged coat, without a shirt, and in a place swarming with vermin, drew tears from the eyes of his friend. Much was gained by this interview. By the exertions of Koehler, Kruegelstein was supplied with food and clothing; both he and Hoelterhof were removed to the citadel, and each was accommodated with a roomy and dry apartment, separated from each other only by a wooden partition.

This was their situation towards the close of 1749. Soon after the law process against the Brethren was closed; and their innocence being generally admitted, they indulged the hope of speedily regaining their liberty. But in this they were disappointed; their confinement was, however, considerably mitigated. Through the kind exertions of Koehler and other friends, the three Brethren obtained leave to live together in a spacious vault in the ravelin of the fort, which from the resemblance it bore to the ancient burying places, they called their *Catacombs.** They also enjoyed the liberty of walking on the ramparts, and receiving visits from their friends, and could regularly meet for worship, which proved a great comfort and refreshment to them. Kruegelstein had an opportunity of exercising his medical profession. Among other patients, he attended the wife of the Secretary, and succeeded in effecting a cure, after she had been given over by other physicians. This

* The burying places of the ancients were mostly subterraneous vaults, called catacombs, some of which were very spacious. A custom prevailed at an early age in the Greek church, to hold religious meetings in the catacombs of those who were esteemed saints.

gained him the good will of the Secretary, by whose interest, the three Brethren, after a residence of nine months in the catacombs, were allowed to live without the fortress. By order of the Secretary, they and their guard, were one night conducted to a house in one of the suburbs, which had been hired by Hoelterhof's wife. Kruegelstein's wife, who on the arrest of her husband went to Germany, had just returned to Russia, and thus, after a separation of four years, they were happily reunited.

This indulgence, however, they did not enjoy longer than seven months, being remanded to the ravelin in May, 1752, in consequence of the misdemeanour of another prisoner. In the following November they were in imminent danger of their lives, during three successive inundations. This induced the Secretary once more to espouse their cause, when he again succeeded in obtaining liberty for them to live together in a hired house, in which they remained twenty months. Fritsche now began to instruct some children, and Kruegelstein attended to his practice. During this period the Secretary died in the faith and hope of the gospel.

In 1754, another prisoner, who like them lived at large, undertook to present his case in person to the Empress, but was arrested before he reached the palace, and put into close confinement. An order was at the same time issued, that all prisoners, residing without the fortress, should be instantly conveyed back to prison. In pursuance of this order the three Brethren were, in the night of August the 27th, suddenly roused from their sleep, and hurried back to their former prison in the ravelin; their wives being left for several hours in the most anxious suspense. When the first alarm and surprise had subsided, they encouraged each other in the Lord, determined to commit themselves unreservedly to his guidance, and patiently to await the issue of their present trials. By degrees they obtained more liberty; not only were their wives allowed to visit them daily and stay with them as long as they pleased, but the prisoners themselves were occasionally permitted to go to the lodging of Mrs. Kruegelstein, where they sometime enjoyed the most delightful spiritual refreshment while they com-

memorated the death of Jesus in his own ordinance, administered to them by a Lutheran clergyman. They endeavoured to employ their time as usefully as they could. Kruegelstein obtained permission to follow his profession and visit his patients. These were so numerous, and he was so successful in his cures, that many of the common people believed he could work miracles, and honored him as a saint.

While these indulgences, which were chiefly owing to the friendship of the Secretary of chancery, made them at times almost forget that they were prisoners; God was pleased to visit them with an affliction of a different nature. The wife of Hoelterhof fell sick, and in a few weeks entered into the joy of the Lord. Not only her husband, but the whole party felt this bereavement most keenly. It afforded them a kind of mournful pleasure, that they were allowed to attend her from morning till night during her illness, and, in company of their friends, to follow her remains to the place of interment, where, close to those of the Superintendent Gutsleff, they rest in hope till the day of resurrection.

Having now spent four years and eight months in their catacombs, and been altogether twelve years under arrest, the day of their deliverance at length arrived. The Government, though fully convinced of the innocence of the Brethren, was yet unwilling publicly to acquit them, because this would have been a tacit acknowledgment of the injustice of its proceedings. A middle course was therefore pursued, and a decree passed in chancery, ordering the liberation of the three Brethren, and their removal to Kasan, where they should enjoy full personal liberty. This order was made known to them in March, 1759; and three days after they, together with Mrs. Kruegelstein and her little daughter, born during their confinement, commenced their journey of more than one thousand English miles, escorted by a sergeant and three Tartar soldiers. The jolting of the waggon was extremely distressing, their strength having been greatly exhausted by their long confinement. Kruegelstein was taken dangerously ill, and his recovery rendered very doubtful; which induced them to make the latter part of their journey by water on the river Volga; and April 27th, they

arrived at Kasan in safety. Contrary to expectation Kruegelstein had so far recovered, that he could ascend the hill, on which the citadel is built, without difficulty.

The commander of the fortress and all the other authorities in the town, treated them with the greatest friendship. Kruegelstein soon got into such extensive practice, that, after spending the forenoon in visiting his more respectable patients, the court before their house was in the evening crowded by the poor, who came to seek his advice. He continued his practice till the 9th of December, 1760, when he closed his earthly pilgrimage.

At the request of the directors of the public academy at Kasan, Fritsche and Hoelterhof engaged as teachers in that institution. The former continued in this situation till his decease, which took place a few weeks before Kruegelstein's. Two years after, Hoelterhof obtained full liberty by the mediation of a valet de chambre to the grand duke, who had once been his fellow prisoner, and returned to Livonia. His wish was to have re-occupied his former parish of Jamma, which was then vacant. But, as his admission was objected to, unless he would entirely break off all connection with the Brethren, he retired to Moscow, where he soon after received an appointment as professor in the university; and in the sequel rendered important services to the Brethren's Church. Kruegelstein's widow and daughter had previously returned to Germany.

Thus ended the severe and most unjust sufferings of these devoted servants of God, who were not only among the first, but some of the most distinguished laborers of the Brethren's Church in Livonia. They had reared a spiritual plantation, which, though somewhat injured and retarded in its growth by their detention in prison, was not destroyed. Persons were not wanting among the nobility and clergy, who respected the Brethren, and in stillness promoted the work so happily begun. It was chiefly carried on by pious Esthonians and Livonians, who, after the toils of laborious service during the day, met their countrymen for spiritual edification during the night. Their assemblies were often held in the forests, to elude the vigilance of those of the nobility and clergy, who were still evil

disposed, and sometimes even inflicted corporal punishment on the peasants, if detected in the unpardonable crime of attending the Brethren's meetings. Amidst this oppression they continued in prayer, faith, and hope, patiently waiting for better days. The sequel of our history will shew, that their prayers were heard.

From the opposition given to the Brethren's labors in the Protestant provinces of Russia, it is not to be expected that they would have much success in the heart of the empire, where the Greek church is dominant. At the same time the occurrences in Livonia made them more or less known, and even required the presence of some of them in the capital.

The first knowledge of the Brethren was obtained in Russia through three Missionaries, who in their return from Lapland, in 1734, were arrested and confined for five weeks in prison in Petersburg. Their Christian deportment gained them several friends among the Protestants in Russia, who waited only for a more favorable opportunity for openly espousing the cause of the Brethren's Church. In the mean time the disturbances in Livonia broke out, and put new impediments in the way.

Count Zinzendorf, who at that time was in North-America, had no sooner returned to Europe and learnt the state of things in Livonia, than he resolved to go thither in person, and solicit government to institute a thorough investigation of this unpleasant business, as far as he and the Brethren were concerned. He landed at Riga, on the 23d of December, 1743, and immediately sent brother Jonas Paulus Weiss, who accompanied him, to the governor, Field-marshal count Lacy, to announce his arrival, and apply for a passport to Petersburg. The governor replied, that he "could do nothing till he had received instructions from Petersburg, for which count Zinzendorf must wait with patience, as he had no authority to permit a person of rank, who had to make important communications to government, to go to the capital, without express orders from his superiors."

It was easy to understand the meaning of this answer. Brother Weiss was conducted by a sergeant into the citadel, and a major was sent to count Zinzendorf, who civilly intimated to

him the governor's wish to be honored with a personal interview. This was in fact putting the count under arrest. He immediately complied with the governor's orders, and with his son, and the other persons in his company, repaired to the citadel. Here they were detained till the 12th of January, 1744, and treated with the greatest respect and civility by the captain on duty. To a man of so active a disposition as the count's, this detention was no small trial, but he bore it with Christian resignation. In a letter, written at this time to his lady, he thus expresses himself:

"I most affectionately entreat you not to be uneasy at my arrest. I do assure you, I am quite happy, and so is our dear son. If it had not been our Saviour's will, it could not have happened. He hath an object in view with such providences; and I fimly believe, He will do all things well and right. The field-marshal treats me with the greatest politeness, and on his part I perceive nothing but good will. Remember me in your prayers. There is now a goodly number of us in prison for our Saviour's sake, and my dear Christian accounts it joy to suffer thus with his father. You shall hear from me as often as circumstances will allow. Never lose sight of this, that we are in the hands of a faithful Saviour, who will lead us in a way, which, though it appears strange, and is contrary to what we should have chosen, will prove peaceful and blessed. During my whole life, nothing has been so opposite to my inclination, as being under arrest; but since it has now fallen to my lot, I am satisfied."*

One of his first occupations in the citadel was, to draw up a petition to the Empress of Russia, praying her Imperial Majesty to appoint a commission for his examination, that he might thus have an opportunity to answer the various accusations brought against him and the Brethren, and remove the existing misconceptions with regard to their labors in the Imperial dominions. After briefly relating the circumstances, which introduced the Brethren into Livonia, he thus proceeds: "Most gracious empress and lady, divine providence has placed me in

* Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf. p. 1540.

your Imperial Majesty's power; and thus I am, where for the present I ought to be, and I thank God for it. Hereby every unpleasant apprehension respecting any improper conduct on my part, is completely removed, and nothing remains but the cause, which has led to my arrest. I therefore most humbly supplicate your Majesty to shew me the great favor (for which I have been soliciting these twenty years) to institute a strict examination of my doctrine and views. I will let my heart speak, and conceal nothing; but endeavour to produce every document within my reach, however much against myself, which may serve to forward the investigation."*

In answer to this petition, the Empress sent him an order, dated January 9th, to this effect: " that it was her Imperial Majesty's pleasure, that count Zinzendorf do leave her dominions the sooner the better, as she did not deem it necessary to institute the investigation he had solicited."

Three days after, the count and his company left Riga, and returned to Germany.

Besides his personal endeavours to mediate between the Brethren and the Russian government, he resolved before he went thither himself to send a deputy from the Brethren's Church to Petersburg. This important commission was given to Arvid Gradin, who arrived in the capital on the first of August, 1743. Several persons of distinction, to whom he had letters of recommendation, being then out of town, he was obliged to wait for their return, before he could commence the negociation, with which he was entrusted.

Three Missionaries from the Brethren's Church, who were on their way to China and Tartary, were at that time under arrest at Petersburg. With them Gradin spent much of his time; and being one day seen in their company by an evil-disposed Lutheran clergyman, the latter impeached him as an emissary from Herrnhut. He was consequently summoned before the chancery and closely interrogated. Having informed the Vice chancellor that he was the bearer of a letter from count Zinzendorf to the Synod of the Greek church, a sergeant was sent

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* Bued. Coll. Vol. III. p. 508.

with him to his lodging to fetch that letter, which was deposited in chancery, and himself put under arrest. The Vice chancellor addressing him in a tone of great mildness, said: "I am sorry for what has happened, for I know that you are well meaning people, but your labors are not wanted in this country, and the chancery must obey the Imperial mandate."

Several persons, connected with the government, treated him with condescending attention. He was permitted to reside in a building attached to the chancery; and after some weeks he was allowed to go into private lodgings, on giving bail for his appearance whenever required. Mr. von Nolken and Mr. Hertwich gladly opened their houses to him, and he received many marks of friendship from them and other gentlemen.

In the mean time count Zinzendorf had arrived at Riga, but Gradin being forbidden any correspondence with him, was consequently prevented executing an important part of his commission. This made him the more desirous to receive intelligence, what success had attended the letter to the Synod, which he had presented in the count's name, having only heard so much, that it had passed through the chancery to the Imperial cabinet. To satisfy himself on this subject, he waited on the Archimandrite Theodosky, archbishop of Pleskow, the most learned of the Russian prelates, and well acquainted with the German language. The archbishop declared, that the Synod could not interfere in the business, as their ecclesiastical jurisdiction did not extend to Livonia; and as to doctrine no essential difference appeared to exist between the Brethren and the Lutherans. "For these reasons," added he, "I told your accusers, that if the Moravians were expelled the country on account of their doctrine, all Lutherans must likewise be expelled." Gradin was further informed, that the letter to the Synod together with the records and the manuscripts* taken from count Zinzendorf at Riga, his petition to the empress, the acts of the Livonian Commission, and the reports of the regency, were all, by order of her Majesty, lodged in the Imperial cabinet; and here the matter ended.

* These manuscripts were chiefly discourses, hymns &c. preparing for the press, and had no relation to the business then pending.

Finding now that his further stay in Russia could answer no purpose, he applied to the Chancellor for a passport; but was put off with fair promises. He renewed his application the following year, being strongly supported by the Swedish, Prussian, and Saxon ambassadors, but was equally unsuccessful. At length he procured an interview with the Chancellor, count Bestuschef, and presented a memorial to him in behalf of himself and the three missionaries, who were under arrest, and with whom he had latterly resided. This had the desired effect; they were furnished with the necessary passports without fee, and permitted to leave the country without further difficulties, on the 23rd of May, 1747; Arvid Gradin having been under arrest nearly four, and the other brethren five years.

Thus terminated for this time, the Brethren's labors in the Russian empire. Yet, though they were beaten off the field, the seed they had scattered did not die. They had gained several sincere friends, who were ever ready to serve them. Among these the Rev. Jeremiah Risler must not be forgotten, who, during brother Gradin's stay in Petersburg, and on his recommendation was appointed minister of the Reformed congregation; and afrer serving it for fourteen years, became a distinguished minister in the Brethren's Church.

## SECTION VIII.

*Brethren arrive in* AMERICA—*Settle in* GEORGIA—*Retire to* PENSYLVANIA—*Count* ZINZENDORF *arrives in* AMERICA—*Convention of Delegates from several religious denominations—Arrival of more Brethren—They build* BETHLEHEM *and other Settlements—Collect congregations and establish Schools—Difficulties connected with their labors—Superintendence of their Institutions—Hostility of the white Settlers—Dangers during the war—They extend their labors to* NORTH CAROLINA.

THE attention of the Brethren was at an early period drawn to the new world, principally with a view of propagating the gospel among the several Indian tribes, the aborigines of North-America. In order to effect this, a company of Bre-

thren went thither in the spring of 1735, under the patronage of the trustees of Georgia, who accommodated them with some houses in the town of Savanna for a temporary residence, and advanced a sum of money for their support, till they could erect a colony of their own. They immediately began to clear some land near the town on the banks of the Ogache and built a settlement. Having during the following year received an accession to their number, by the arrival of more Brethren from Germany, they were, in a short time enabled, by the blessing of God on their industry, and by their frugal mode of life, both to repay the money advanced by the trustees in London, and to maintain themselves and assist their poorer neighbours. Their fair prospects, however, were soon clouded. The Spaniards, being then at war with England, required the Brethren to take up arms and join them in expelling the English from Georgia. This the latter refused on the ground, that it was contrary to the stipulation made and guaranteed to them by the government, "that they should be exempt from military service." But as this stipulation displeased the other settlers, the Brethren repaid all the money advanced to them, left their flourishing plantations, and retired to Pensylvania.

Having finally vacated their settlement near Savanna in 1740, the Rev. George Whitfield, who had purchased a piece of land in Pensylvania, which he called *Nazareth*, invited the Brethren to view it, and undertake the building of a school-house, which he designed for the instruction of the Negroes. They readily acceded to his proposal, considering it as a providential means of supporting themselves, and forming a community of their own. The building was executed amidst many difficulties, and even dangers from some Indians residing on the land, who, as they learnt afterwards, had more than once conspired to murder them. Whitfield in the mean time returned to Georgia, where a difference of opinion on the doctrine of reprobation, between him and the Missionary, John Hagen, for a while alienated his affections from the Brethren, and induced him to give orders for their removal from Nazareth. It was not long, however, before he offered the land for sale to the Brethren, and the purchase was completed in 1743.

While these negociations were pending, count Zinzendorf arrived in North America. He landed at New York on the 29th of November, 1741, and without delay proceeded to Philadelphia. His principal object in undertaking this journey was to render some kind offices to the Lutherans, many of whom resided in the state of Pensylvania, but were, with regard to religion, in a very deplorable condition, having few ordained ministers, and the Christian instruction of their children being wholly neglected. He was gladly received by them; and the Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia gave him a regular call to be their minister, which he accepted, and for a twelve month performed all the functions of a Lutheran clergyman. He likewise provided several congregations in the country with regularly ordained ministers and schoolmasters, and, with the concurrence of some of the most approved clergymen, established a consistory for the superintendence of the Lutheran Church in Pensylvania, of which he had the presidency during his stay in America. On all his journies through the country he availed himself of every opportunity to preach the gospel: and in many instances God signally blessed his labours.

The count, however, did not confine his services to the Lutherans. Even before his arrival in America he had been occupied in concerting a plan for promoting brotherly love and spiritual union among the truly pious members of the numerous larger and smaller religious sects, into which the population of Pensylvania was divided. For this purpose he had, in 1739, given a commission to Andrew Eschenbach and other Brethren to travel through the country, and both by publicly preaching the gospel, and by private intercourse, to endeavour to unite those of all parties, who appeared to love the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Their labors paved the way and facilitated subsequent negociations.

Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia count Zinzendorf became acquainted with Mr. Henry Antes, a German by birth, and a member of the Reformed Church. He was a man of sincere piety, and possessed considerable influence among the different religious denominations in the country. His intercourse with bishop Spangenberg, who, on his return from a visitation in the

West Indies, remained for some years in North America, had been the means of confirming his faith in the Lord Jesus, and rousing his attention to the unhappy consequences, resulting from the mutual jealousies and want of brotherly love, which existed among Chistians of different communions. As a means of healing this breach in the Church of God, Mr. Antes sent a Circular letter to all the German religious sects in Pensylvania, inviting them to elect deputies to attend a general convention, or synod, proposed to be holden in Germantown, and to be opened on the 1st of January, 1742. The object of the convention is stated in the Circular to be: "Not to dispute and wrangle, but converse in love on the essential articles of faith, in order to discover how nearly all true Christians approximate in the fundamentals of religion; to come to a mutual agreement respecting all such opinions as do not affect the ground of salvation, and to bear with each other in love, that thus all uncharitable judging might be lessened and moved out of the way." *

The proposed convention met at the time and place appointed, and continued its deliberations, by several adjournments, in different towns till the fourth of June, holding two or three Sessions each month. Deputies from all the religious parties in Pensylvania attended, † and unanimously chose count Zinzendorf Speaker or President. This honorable distinction he accepted in his capacity as Lutheran minister in Philadelphia, and not as a bishop of the Brethren's Church. In order also to obviate any misconception, which might arise from the official relation, in which he stood to the Brethren and the Lutherans, he roundly declared to the assembly, that, in coming forward on this occasion, he had not the most distant idea of uniting the different religious sects in Pensylvania into *one* visible body, much less of introducing among them the Moravian ecclesiastical constitution, but that his only wish was, to be instrumental

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* Bued. Coll. Vol. ii, 722.

† Two or three Brethren were also present, but rather as guests than active members; for they had as yet established no regularly organized congregations in any part of America.

in grounding all parties on the alone saving doctrine of faith in the Lamb of God as the Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of mankind."

He so far attained his object already at the third session of the first meeting, that the deputies, with the exception of two or three, bore a decided testimony in favor of the doctrine of atonement, in opposition to all sectarian pride and sophistry, and unanimously confessed, that this doctrine, and no other, when received in faith, was the means of procuring pardon, sanctification, and justification. The few dissentients withdrew from the convention, which continued its meetings in brotherly love, and finally resolved, notwithstanding their differences in non-essentials, to maintain the unity of the spirit with all who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity. They assumed the name of the *Congregation of God in the Spirit.*

This convention had a twofold influence on the Brethren's Church in America. Those deputies and their congregations, who dissented from the resolutions of the convention, hated and even persecuted the Brethren; while those, who agreed with them in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, became more warmly attached to them and their cause. Some even formed a union with their Church, and Mr. Antes and his family were among the first.

During the last session of this convention a large company of Brethren arrived in Philadelphia, and were cordially welcomed by the convention to whom they were presented, and who acknowledged them and the Brethren, previously residing in the country, as members of the *Congregation af God in the Spirit:** Previously to their arrival God had prepared tents for them to dwell in. For, when Mr. Whitfield ordered the Brethren to quit Nazareth, a gentleman offered to sell them a piece of land in the forks of Delaware. This offer they accepted, and in 1741, began to build a regular settlement, which was

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* The sense, in which that appellation was used, excluded on the part of the convention, all interference with the internal and external regulations of the Brethren.

afterwards called BETHLEHEM.* Thither the newly arrived company went in June, 1742, and, with those already settled there, composed a congregation of one hundred and twenty persons.

The original design in building Bethlehem was, that it should be placed on the same footing with the Missionary congregation in Europe, and that its members should consider it their peculiar calling to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel, throughout the whole of North America, wherever a door of utterance should be opened to them. To facilitate this, the inhabitants agreed, after the example of the Church in Jerusalem, to institute the community of goods, to regulate their house-keeping in the most frugal manner, and apply the surplus of their gains to the education of children, the support of ministers and schoolmasters in the country, who received no regular salary, and the establishment of missions among the Indians. This regulation continued for several years, but, as might be expected, was found untenable, when the settlement increased in the number, and diversity of character, of its inhabitants.

The building of Nazareth† was somewhat retarded in consequence of the hostility of the Indian occupier of the land, who resisted the order of their great national Council to quit it. The Brethren, not wishing to irritate these savages, whose instruction in Christianity was a principal object of their settling in the country, purchased the produce of their fields at their own price, after the Indians had relinquished their claims to hold possession and offered peaceably to remove.‡ After this, Nazareth, as well as Bethlehem, rapidly increased in external prosperity. They were the two first Settlements formed by

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* Bethlehem lies on an arm of the Delaware, which has retained its Indian name, Lecha; and is fifty miles distant from Philadelphia.

† Nazareth lies nine miles to the North of Bethlehem. In its immediate vicinity lie the two congregations of Christiansbrun and Gnadenthal, and are affiliated to it.

‡ The great Council had regularly sold the land to government; the Indians had consequently no further right to it.

the Brethren in North America, and received their regular constitution as such.

These two settlements soon attracted the notice of the surrounding country, even to the distance of several hundred miles. Persons of all ranks and every religious denomination came to see and hear for themselves, whether the reports, widely circulated concerning the Brethren, were true or false.* The neatness and regularity, which distinguished these settlements from other colonies, the peaceable deportment and industry of the inhabitants, the good quality of their manufactures, their fairness in dealing,† and above all their institutions for education, gained them the respect and friendship of many, who had not sufficient penetration to discover, that, whatever was truly excellent in the establishments of the Brethren, was the effect of the religious principles which governed all their proceedings. Such was the credit they stood in as improving colonists, that a tract of land on the Ohio, containing one hundred thousand acres, was offered them for sale on very moderate terms; and in the county of Ulster, in the state of New York, an offer was made them of four thousand acres free of all expense. But neither of these offers could be accepted. A few years later, however, they acceded to the proposal of the earl of Granville, who was then President of the privy council, of purchasing one hundred thousand acres in North Carolina. The purchase being completed in 1751, they took possession of it before the end of the next year, and called the whole district *Wachovia*. By an act of Assembly, passed in 1755, it was declared a distinct parish, and received the name of Dobb's parish, in honor of the governor. They began to clear the land and build in 1753, calling their first colony BETHABARA, which in the

* Crantz relates, that according to a register kept at Bethlehem, in 1753, the number of persons who visited the settlement, for the purpose of seeing the institutions of the Brethren and receiving authentic information, amounted that year to upwards of one thousand, among whom were several pagan Indians. Brethren's Hist. p. 400.

† During a scarcity which prevailed in 1754, God so blessed their industry, that they were enabled to sell bread to their neighbours, considerably below the current price. B. Hist. p. 401.

sequel received the usual regulations as a settlement of the Brethren's Church.

Among their visiters, however, there were not a few, whose esteem and love for the Brethren had a better foundation than the mere admiration of their civil economy. They felt in their souls the divine power of the gospel, and observed its beneficial influence on those who obeyed it. Many, therefore, were disposed to join the Brethren; but to this various objections and serious obstacles presented themselves, on the part both of the applicants and the Brethren. In order as far as possible, to meet the wishes of both parties, the same measures were adopted in America, which had been advantageously introduced in England. Instead of multiplying regular settlements, congregations in union with the Brethren's Church, were gradually formed in several towns and villages; wherever circumstances rendered the adoption of such a plan eligible. Congregations of this description were established, between the years 1741 and 1760, in New York, Philadelphia, Newport in Rhode Island, Bethel on the Swatara, in Lancaster, Yorktown, and Graceham. These are still in existence, but others, such as Oblong in Duchess County, Manakosy in Maryland, Friedensthal near Nazareth, &c. have since been given up, or have merged in new or more numerous congregations, established in their vicinity. Besides these regularly organized *Town* and *Country Congregations*, which were each supplied with a resident minister, the Brethren had many friends and a great number of smaller Societies, in the States of New England, New York, Jersey, and Maryland, and especially in Pensylvania.

The spirit which at that time generally prevailed in the Brethren's Church, enabled them to accomplish comparatively great things by slender means, nor were they easily discouraged by difficulties; indeed the whole influence of this spirit was required for their undertakings in America. The field they had to cultivate was very extensive, and needed many laborers; and its position in a thinly inhabited and, in many places, wild and uncivilised country, rendered its cultivation a truly arduous enterprize. But, by the blessing of God, laborers were

found, who from love to Him, and an ardent desire to promote the salvation of their fellow sinners, were willing to undergo every privation, toil, and hardship, unavoidably connected with their work; whether that work was the spiritual instruction of their flocks, or the formation of new colonies.

For several years, after the commencement of their labors in America, the spiritual instruction of the members of their Church and other friends, could not be duly attended to without great personal inconvenience and even danger. Except the few families and individuals, who resided in Bethlehem and Nazareth, the people of their charge lived at considerable distances from each other, and from the places where divine service was generally performed, either in chapels, or more frequently in farm houses, in barns, or in the open field. The country possessed scarce any conveniences for travelling, the roads were often little more than tracks through the forests, and the rivers unprovided with bridges, which, particularly in the rainy season, occasioned frequent delays and much risk. Except setting before them, in the true spirit of primitive hospitality, such things as they had, the people could afford little or no aid to their ministers, who were consequently obliged to make many a long and toilsome journey on foot. For this work God was pleased to raise up suitable instruments in America, and to endow some Students in the Brethren's Theological Seminary in Germany, with the requisite zeal and self denial, who willingly sacrificed every temporal comfort, to which they had hitherto been accustomed, and entered on a mode of life, the peculiar trials of which nothing could sweeten, but the ardour of their piety and the divine blessing which accompanied their exertions.

The religious education of the youth was an object to which the Brethren paid great attention; but which from the state of the country was rendered peculiarly difficult; yet by perseverance and the blessing of God on their labors, they effected much, especially when their slender means are taken into account. Before the year 1747, they had built fifteen schoolhouses, some of them in very remote situations. Each school was provided with, at least, one master and mistress; as in

most cases the children were not only instructed but dieted, and under constant inspection by day and night. The great distance, at which many of the parents lived, made mere *day-schools*, even in summer, almost useless. The adults likewise, some of whom had been brought up in gross ignorance, profited by these institutions.

Not less difficult was that part of the work, which those Brethren undertook, who were chiefly occupied in clearing land and forming colonies, for the most part in unfrequented districts. These difficulties were particularly felt by those, who went to North Carolina, as that part of the country was as yet very little cultivated. The first company that went thither, consisted of fifteen unmarried Brethren. They left Bethlehem in the autumn of 1753, taking with them horses and cattle, and various farming implements and household furniture. This obliged them to travel by land, a distance of nearly eight hundred miles, and through regions, which no European foot had trodden before. They were often obliged to cut their way through thick forests, level a path across rugged rocks, encamp in the woods, and wait for many days before they could ford a river, swollen by the rains. This so retarded their progress, that they spent six weeks on the journey. Scarce recruited from the fatigues of travelling, they cheerfully entered on the toils, inseparably connected with building houses, and tilling land in a wilderness ; Wachovia, at that time, being one dense forest. But by the blessing of God they succeeded, and, besides building a temporary dwelling for themselves, and clearing a few acres of ground, erected a mill, which proved a public benefit to the neighbourhood. When, in the following autumn, the second company of Brethren arrived, they were in some measure prepared to receive and accommodate them.

Here it ought to be remembered, that in these enterprizes the Brethren were not influenced by the motives of worldly gain or temporal advantage. If this had been their object, they would not have left their native country and the comforts they there enjoyed, for the sake of trying their fortunes in a foreign land. Their motives were of a more disinterested and higher cast. They considered themselves in the light of missionaries

to the world; they believed God had called them to promote the spiritual happiness of their fellow-men of every clime, and that consequently, *that* was their home, where he opened them an effectual door for preaching the gospel. This persuasion rendered all their difficulties easy; and while they enjoyed the peace of God in their own souls, they counted themselves happy, if he honored them to advance the kingdom of righteousness in the earth, either more directly by the preaching of his Word, or more remotely by the labor of their hands. Under this conviction even those, whose station in the Church, (to say nothing of their respectability as men of learning) justly entitled them to exemption from manual labor, did not think it derogatory to themselves, to take a part in other necessary works, whenever their ministerial duties allowed them a day of leisure. *

The enlargement of the Brethren's sphere of action in America required the appointment of one or more persons, to have the superintendence and direction of the whole work. Their official duties consisted in holding frequent visitations in all congregations and schools, in providing them with properly qualified ministers and other laborers, in maintaining the due observance of the constitution of their Church, and keeping up a regular correspondence with their Brethren in Europe, and with those residing in the country. In the latter case the letters were mostly sent by messengers, no regular posts having been then established in America. They were also required to pay special attention to the Mission begun among the Indians.

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* David Zeisberger, for sixty years a missionary among the Indians, and among the first Brethren, who came to America, was wont to speak with much delight of the spirit of devotedness and self denial which prevailed among the Brethren at that period; and as an instance of this he often referred to the conduct of their minister Peter Boehler, a man of great learning, and afterwards a bishop of the Brethren's Church, who went with their waggon once a week to a distant mill to fetch flour. *Per. Acc.* vol. viii. p. 25.

Cammerhof, Spangenberg, and other Brethren, acted in the same spirit, and besides the faithful discharge of their clerical duties, willingly lent their aid in clearing the land or following the plough, &c.

On their visitations they were not content with addressing the congregation in public, but endeavoured, by private intercourse with its members, to become well acquainted with all its circumstances, that they might be better able to assist the minister and other laborers with good advice, always acting in concert with them; and for this purpose, frequent Conferences, or meetings for deliberation, were held.

Besides these smaller Conferences, whose authority extended only to a single congregation, or to two or three smaller ones affiliated with it, the Superintendent sometimes convened Provincial Synods. These were frequently held during this period in Pensylvania, and numerously attended. On one occasion the Synodal members consisted of persons of ten different nations and seven religious communities. Among them were ministers, deputies, missionaries, and Indians belonging to the Brethren's Church, fourteen Lutheran clergymen, and delegates from fourteen Calvinist congregations, who had formed a union with the Brethren, but were served in the gospel by ministers of their own persuasion.

The office of superintendent of the Brethren's congregations in North-America was always committed to one of their bishops, and sometimes to two, in proportion as the work increased in extent and magnitude. David Nitschmann, the first bishop of the renewed Church of the Brethren, Peter Boehler, John Frederick Cammerhof, Matthew Hehl, Nathaniel Seidel, and August Gotlieb Spangenberg, discharged the duties of this office, either conjointly or in succession, during this period. Some of them, after a short residence returned to Europe. Cammerhof after five years' service, closed his life in Pensylvania, in 1751. Seidel labored in America since 1742, chiefly among the Indians, first as missionary, and since 1758, when he was consecrated bishop, as superintendent; and together with Hehl continued his services beyond this period. Bishop Spangenberg's labors were the most multifarious and of the longest duration. He conducted the first company of Brethren to Georgia in 1735, and remained there and in Pensylvania till 1739. After his return in 1744, with the exception of one year and a half, which he spent in Europe, he continued to labor in America till 1762.

Amidst many privations and hardships, the Brethren found abundant cause to bless God for the success he granted them, which evidenced itself by the eagerness, with which people of all descriptions listened to their testimony of Jesus and his salvation, whose altered conduct shewed that they had received grace to believe. Opposition, however, was not altogether wanting. Once, while Spangenberg was preaching in Lancaster, a mob collected and pelted him with stones. A justice of peace was present, who, when he found that the preacher, instead of railing at the people, prayed for them, was so struck, that it proved the means of his conversion. The uproar ceased, and the adversaries desisted from their mischievous purpose. A few years after, the Brethren built a chapel and school-house in this town, in which many of their former enemies learnt the way of peace and righteousness.

During the war between England and France, their enemies tried every means to render them suspicious in the eye of the public. They were accused of concealing large quantities of arms for the service of the French, and a search-warrant was made out; but their innocence was so clearly proved, that their accusers were silenced. This, however, did not stop their hostility, which was particularly levelled at their missions among the Indians. An Act of Assembly was passed in New York, forbidding all secret Papists, Moravian Brethren, and all suspicious persons, who refused taking the oath of allegiance, to live among the Indians. Some of the Brethren having scruples of conscience against the form of the oath, offered to substitute the most solemn affirmation, but this was refused, and several missionaries were arrested in 1743 and 1744, and confined at New York. Owing to the opposition of some members of Assembly, the Act was not renewed for the following year. Yet the enemies, having once got the power in their hands, were not disposed to relinquish it; but obstructed the labors of the Brethren wherever they could, especially their attempts to convert the Indians.*

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* See Historical Sketches of the Missions, Chap. III. where more particulars are stated.

By degrees the hostility ceased; the innocence of the Brethren was most satisfactorily proved, and their calumniator was condemned to pay a heavy fine, which, however, by their interposition, was remitted. The rest of their accusers were either convinced of their error, or shamed into silence. In a few years they received invitations to preach in several places in the State of New York. They built a handsome church in the city, and had many hearers, who profited by their instructions, adorning the gospel by a consistent practice.

The Brethren, on their part, bore the reproaches heaped on them in the spirit of meekness. They strictly obeyed every order of government, and only claimed a candid hearing and impartial examination. This being denied them, they committed their cause to *him* who judgeth righteously; and the event proved, that this course was the best they could pursue. "Our suffering in silence," writes Spangenberg in one of his letters, "justifies us in the consciences of many. It is generally the case in this country, that if we take much pains to defend ourselves, we only pour oil into the fire; for the people are unwilling to allow that we have right on our side. But if we remain quiet, and do the very opposite to that of which we are accused, we gain one victory after the other." In another letter he writes: "The enmity of the separatists and self-righteous persons continues, and they make many proselytes. Many lies and calumnies are propagated, and given out to be true. We remain silent; for we firmly believe, yea, we have the proofs before our eyes, that by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ our real character is made manifest to many. The hunger after the gospel is daily increasing; and it becomes a prevailing opinion, that it is a characteristic of God's children, not to defend themselves."*

Towards the close of this period the Brethren in America, in common with the other white inhabitants, were exposed to many and great dangers, in consequence of the war with the Indians which broke out in 1755. Hostilities, as is usual with savages, commenced with burning and plundering single houses and farms,

* Risler's Life of Spangenberg, p. 236.

dispersed through the country, and murdering all who came within their reach. Hundreds of people, therefore, left their farms and habitations and took refuge in the towns. During this general panic the Brethren, trusting in the protection of their Almighty Saviour, remained quietly in their settlements, and engaged in their usual occupations. This appeared so unaccountable to the other inhabitants, that their adversaries renewed the old malicious calumnies, accusing them of being hostile to the British, and of persuading their Indian converts to form an alliance with the French. Some colour of probability was given to this accusation by a letter printed in the newspapers, and said to be written by a French officer, intimating, "that they could easily subdue the English, for the Moravians and their Indians were in league with them." Though the letter was proved to be a forgery, yet being believed by many, it placed the Brethren in the most perilous situation; exposing them to the violence of the savage Indians, who were alike hostile to both parties, and to the fury of an enraged populace among the white inhabitants. Those Brethren who were obliged to travel through the country, were no longer safe, either on the road or at inns. A public proclamation was made in the Jerseys, by beat of drums, that *in Bethlehem and their other settlements a carnage should be made, such as never before had been known in America.* Nor were they content with mere threats; but sent a company of soldiers to Bethlehem, to search for hostile Indians, who they pretended were secreted in the place. Bishop Spangenberg being aware that their real intention was to destroy the settlement, received them with great civility, treated them with kindness, and hospitably entertained them. This had the desired effect, they excited no disturbance, and went away in peace.

On the day following the innocence of the Brethren was proved beyond the possibility of a doubt; but in a manner the most melancholy. In the evening of November 24th, 1755, the Mission-house at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahony was attacked by a party of Indians, who set fire to the premises and totally destroyed them. Of the missionary family eleven persons were either burnt or murdered; and only four escaped with

their lives. This tragical event opened the eyes of the other settlers. "How greatly have we sinned," said they, "against an innocent people. What should we have had to answer for, had we executed our design of murdering their men, women and children, on the vague supposition that they were our enemies."*

The burning of Gnadenhuetten served as a signal to the other colonists, who now fled in all directions. The Brethren, however, resolved not to leave their settlements, but to adopt such measures of precaution as might secure them against any sudden attack from the savages. For this purpose they surrounded Bethlehem and Nazareth, and the adjacent farms of Gnadenthal, Friedenthal, and Christiansbrun, with palisades, and kept strict watch by day and night. The spirit, in which they took these measures of defence in case of any hostile attack, may be seen from bishop Spangenberg's address to the congregation at this critical juncture.

"We must," said he, "make a proper distinction between what would be a right mode of acting on the part of a minister of the gospel, of a magistrate, and of a citizen. Were an Apostle of Jesus to use the sword, it would be a proof, that he did not understand his commission. But, it is ordained of God, that a magistrate shall not bear the sword in vain. It is the duty of a citizen, as the father of a family, to prevent a thief or murderer from breaking into his house. As a shepherd would rather kill the wolf, than suffer the sheep to be worried; in like manner it is incumbent on a father to ensure, as far as he can, the preservation of his family. The Brethren who keep watch, are armed with guns, solely for the purpose of averting from our sisters and children any acts of violence, which the savages might otherwise commit. Yet, amidst all their defensive preparations, it remains their constant prayer, that the Lord our Saviour may mercifully prevent the effusion of human blood in our Settlements. All the inhabitants should be particularly careful not to place their dependence on these necessary mea-

* Hist. Sketches of the Missions, Chap. III. The reader will there find an account of what befel the Indian converts.

sures of precaution, for if they do so, God may permit something to befal us, against which a treble circumvallation would be but a poor protection. But if we rely on our Saviour, and act in a prudent and scriptural manner, and not superstitiously, we may be of good courage, even though our enemies were a thousand times as many more."*

During this season of general terror, the Brethren had repeated proofs, that the confidence, they reposed in their heavenly Protector, was not misplaced. Parties of hostile Indians, returning from their murdering expeditions, often approached Bethlehem within gun shot, vowing destruction to the place: but a secret hand always frustrated their wicked purpose. Of many a meditated attack the inhabitants knew nothing till long after. Once, when some Brethren were going with two waggons to a mill at a considerable distance, they were met by a number of people from that very district, who had fled from the savages, almost naked, and half dead with cold, hunger, and fright. Instead therefore, of proceeding to the mill for flour, they took up the fugitives in their waggons, and conveyed them to Bethlehem. Most of these poor people had barely escaped with their lives, leaving their houses and property a prey to the flames. It was, therefore, a double kindness shewn them by the Brethren, when they not only offered them an asylum in their settlements, but in part supplied them with work. For the Brethren were nearly the only settlers in that district, whose possessions were preserved, and who could carry on their trades, and were willing to purchase and clear more land.

An opinion became more and more prevalent throughout the country, even to a great distance, that the Moravian settlements were the only places of safety in these perilous times. The consequence was, that the number of fugitives, who took refuge in them, soon amounted to five and six hundred. One poor man, who came from beyond the blue mountains, on arriving in Bethlehem, said, "Further I will not go. If I am not safe among children of God, *where* can I be safe?" To find lodgings for such numbers put the Brethren to no small

* Risler's Life of Spangenberg, p. 318.

inconvenience and expense; but they were now enabled to exemplify the grace, for which they were accustomed to pray in one of their public forms of prayer: "O that we might always be ready, to show kindness to all men, and never forget to do good and to communicate;—that we took pleasure in refreshing the hearts of the dejected,—and to relieve the needy might be our hearts' delight." God, who infused this spirit of charity, gave them a share in the portion of Job: "The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy."* God blessed the labor of their hands, and whether rich or poor, they did not eat their morsel alone; and considered themselves abundantly recompensed, whenever they perceived any of their guests savingly influenced by the gospel. Nor was this seldom the case. By this truly Christian deportment their enemies were silenced, they rose in general esteem, and were highly respected by government.†

In the midst of these external troubles, the peace of God reigned in the settlements; confidence in Him bore the sway among the inhabitants, and banished all anxious foreboding. On this subject Spangenberg writes:

"Our children as yet know nothing of the war and the murders which have been committed, and consequently are cheerful and free from care.‡ The widows and unmarried sisters, though not ignorant of these things, behave like good children. Mothers look at their children and shed tears, but

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* Job xxxix. 13.

† The governor of Pensylvania knew bishop Spangenberg well, honored him as a faithful servant of God, and often consulted him on public affairs, declaring his conviction, "that under the superintendence of such a man, the Brethren's congregations were like a wall of defence and a fortification to the whole country." On this Spangenberg remarks: "I cannot refuse acting as a true patriot, and giving my opinion; but I would rather be silent, commend every thing to God's direction, and wait only on my ministry."—*Risler's Life of Spangenberg, p.* 322.

‡ This letter was written immediately after the burning of Gnadenhuetten.

resign themselves to the will of the Lord. All our men are day and night on the watch, to prevent an attack. Our neighbours take their refuge to us, and we refuse admittance to none. In a word, we are cheerful and of good courage in the Lord. We remain undismayed on our post; for if *we* were to fly, the whole country as far as Philadelphia, (a distance of fifty miles,) would become an easy prey to the Indians; there is not another place, where they would meet with resistance. Not an individual among us has fled; nor is there one, who would think of saving his life at a distance from the congregation. We have indeed no hope of help from man; but the Lord, whose we are, will help us. Truly, amidst these dangers, we love each other with a pure heart fervently; and when we look at a Brother it is, as though we beheld an angel of God."

In letters of a later date he writes: "Hitherto our Saviour has mercifully preserved us from falling into the hands of these cruel men, whom Satan uses as his instruments of murder. He hath disarmed the king of terror, and left him no power to hurt His people, so that the feeblest among us, the children, the widows, and single women, have displayed heroic courage, to the surprise of all our neighbours, who were trembling with fear at the threatening danger. None of us has received any bodily harm, though we have repeatedly been in imminent danger; our dwellings too have been preserved. The murderers have more than once approached our settlement; but they could only go the length of their chain. We have light in our souls; for Jesus Christ is our joy and peace. In March, 1756, we kept a solemn day of thanksgiving and prayer; praising God for his past mercies, and commending ourselves to his protection for the future." In July he adds: "We are getting in our harvest, and, with keeping strict watch, remain unmolested. Fears and rumours of war continue; but we live in the peace of Jesus Christ, &c."

The members of the country congregations, in Pensylvania, had their full share in these troubles, being from the insulated situation of their houses and farms, which lay at considerable distances from each other, more exposed to attack, from the savages, than the inhabitants in the settlements. Many of

them left their dwellings and sought safety in their chapels. Being thus collected together in great numbers the Indians were deterred from offering them any violence. Those belonging to Bethel on the Swatara were obliged to leave their farms, and seek protection in Libanon; and those belonging to the congregation of Lynn were provided for at Bethlehem. Some families, belonging to congregations, near the boundary, not only had their houses burnt and their property destroyed, but a few individuals were murdered. These circumstances induced the Brethren to recommend to the members of their Church, to build their houses as far as practicable, near the chapels, and thus to form regular villages. In several instances this advice was taken, and a beginning made near the town of Warwick, to form the Settlement called Litiz.

During these commotions the superintendents and other ministers continued their visits through the country, and though they were often within gun-shot of Indians, lying concealed in the woods, not one received any bodily injury on these journies. Spangenberg even ventured to convene two provincial Synods during this period, the members of which were not only refreshed in spirit, but graciously protected from all harm on their journey. "In short," says Spangenberg, "we pursue our calling as though there were no hindrances."

North Carolina, for some time, experienced little of the troubles of war, on account of its proximity to the territory of the Cherokees, who were the friends of England. In the adjacent state of Virginia, however, which was more particularly the seat of war, robberies and murders were more frequent than in Pensylvania. Great numbers, therefore, fled to North Carolina in 1756, two or three hundred of whom sought refuge on the lands belonging to the Brethren. They erected temporary dwellings near the mill, and inclosed them and Bethabara within palisades, keeping strict watch. God so blessed their industry, that during the general scarcity, which then prevailed, they were enabled to assist the fugitives, and hospitably to entertain numerous bodies of Indian warriors, who, on their march, often halted for two or three days near the settlement.

To many of the fugitives the preaching of the gospel, by God's blessing, proved the means of their conversion. These obtained leave from the Brethren to erect a colony on their land, which during Spangenberg's visitation in 1759 and 1760, received the regulations usual in a settlement of the Brethren's Church, and was called BETHANY. Here as well as at Bethabara, the inhabitants were often exposed to great danger, especially from Indian spies; but God in mercy prevented the effusion of human blood. The government of Carolina, like that of Pensylvania, respected and patronised the Brethren.

## SECTION IX.

*Missionary labors of the Brethren during this period—Attempts made to Christianize the* GYPSIES, *and minister to the Slaves in* ALGIERS *—Deputations are sent to* CONSTANTINOPLE *and to* POLAND—*The Rev. S.* LIEBERKUEHN *labors among the* JEWS.

THE labors of the Brethren were not confined to civilized countries, or those states in which they obtained a permanent footing; but extended to barbarous regions, to nations the most degraded in human society, and to communities, which, though they needed their aid, were not disposed to receive it. Many of their Missions among the Heathen, which are now in a very flourishing state, owe their existence under God, to the zeal, self denial, and patient perseverance, which at this period prevailed in the Brethren's Church. Though, for reasons, mentioned before, the history of the missions does not come within the compass of the present work; we cannot entirely omit a reference to the undertakings of the Brethren in this most important part of their labors.

The Missions to Greenland and the Danish West Indies, had been begun some years before this period, and were gradually gaining more stability. In North and South America the missionaries had entered on a very extensive field for propagating the gospel among various Indian tribes. Their labors among the North American Indians received a temporary

and severe check during the war, as the enemies of the Brethren aimed more especially at the ruin of their missionary establishments. But by God's mercy, this evil was averted by the measures, adopted after the murder of some of the missionaries and the flight of the survivors, to provide the Christian Indians with a temporary retreat near Bethlehem and Nazareth, where they and their teachers might dwell together in peace.

In South America the faith and hope of the missionaries were severely exercised. They reaped little fruit from their labors in consequence of the roving and restless disposition of the natives. The unhealthiness of the climate, against the pernicious effect of which they had not the needful means of guarding themselves, exposed them to frequent and dangerous illnesses, and many valuable lives were sacrificed in this apparently hopeless undertaking. Dissentions among themselves augmented their trials; and the want of support from the Dutch government presented obstacles, which appeared almost insurmountable, and were not completely removed till towards the close of this period. To remain at their post, under these accumulated difficulties, afforded no unequivocal proof of the devotedness of the missionaries.

During this period Missions were also established in the Islands of Jamaica and Antigua, in which a large number of converted Negroes have in the sequel been added to the Christian Church.

A Mission begun in 1736 by brother George Schmidt at the Cape of Good Hope, for the instruction of the Hottentots was continued for five or six years, and promised richly to reward his labors. But being obliged to go to Europe in 1743, the adversaries in Holland succeeded in preventing his return to the Cape; and the Mission among the Hottentots was suspended for fifty years.

In 1737, the Brethren commenced a Mission in Guinea; and in 1739, another in South Carolina. The latter was relinquished after two or three years; but the former was still continued in hope of better times.

After an encouraging beginning to intruct the natives of Ceylon in Christianity, the hostility of the Dutch governor compelled the missionaries to leave the island in 1741.

During the preceding year Conrad Lange proceeded on a Mission to China. On his arrival in Petersburg, he joined himself to the Brethren Hirschel and Kund, who had been sent as missionaries to the Calmucks. But, when they applied for passports they were arrested as suspicious persons, and kept in confinement, with more or less rigour, till 1747, when they returned to Germany.

In 1747, two Brethren went to Persia, principally with a view of discovering the Gebri or Gaures, who, by some writers are supposed to be descendants of the Magi, who paid homage to the infant Saviour at Bethlehem. Their endeavours proved unsuccessful; one of them died, and the other, after a very toilsome and perilous journey, returned to Europe in 1750.

Two years after, attempts were made to obtain entrance with the gospel into Egypt and Abyssinia, and for this purpose several Brethren resided for some years at Grand Cairo, without, however, reaping any fruit from their labors.

Towards the close of this period some Brethren went to the East Indies, and formed a settlement at Tranquebar.*

One circumstance, connected with the missionary history of the Brethren at this period, ought not to be passed over in silence. They began the instruction of the Heathen in Christianity from the best and purest of motives; but they had still to learn what was the only successful mode of reaching the hearts and consciences of the Heathen. On this subject they could receive little or no information from their brethren, or other pious friends at home; for they were all equally inexperienced. God himself was pleased to teach them; but not till he had permitted them to try that method, which to human wisdom would naturally suggest itself as most likely to succeed. The experiment was made in Greenland, for five or six years, with invincible perseverance; but made in vain. They began by teaching the natives the existence and attributes of God, and their being accountable to Him as their Creator and Lor d

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* For further accounts of the missions the reader is referred to "Hist. Sketches of the Missions."

hoping thus by degrees to prepare their minds for the reception of the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. The natives heard them, went away, and thought no more about it. But on hearing the missionary Beck read the narrative of our Saviour's passion, and with artless simplicity enlarge on the amazing love of Jesus in suffering for the sins of mankind; the point was gained. The doctrine of Christ crucified found entrance. One of the company, Kayarnak by name, stepping forward, and earnestly addressing the missionary said; "How was that? tell me that once more; for I too desire to be saved."

Thus in the case of this Greenlander, and afterwards in that of many hundreds of his countrymen, the preaching of the cross of Christ, which is foolishness to them that perish, was made the power and wisdom of God unto salvation. From this single occurrence, being a matter of fact, the Brethren have derived more information respecting the method of successfully instructing the Heathen, than they could have obtained from the most diligent study. God gave them grace to profit by it insomuch that, without neglecting other means for promoting the spiritual and temporal improvement of the Heathen, they have in every Mission laid this doctrine as the foundation of all instruction. We shall add another instance, which, as it happened at this very period and among Heathen, who in point of mental endowment are superior to the Greenlanders, tended to confirm the Brethren in their resolution to preach Christ crucified.

John Tschcop, an Indian belonging to the Brethren's Church in North America, formerly a very wild and profligate heathen, and one of the first, in whom the gospel evidenced its saving power, once gave the following simple account of his conversion: "Brethren, I have been a heathen, and have grown old among them; therefore I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came and began to explain to us, that there was a God. We answered, 'Do you think us so ignorant as not to know that? Return to the place from whence you came.' Again another preacher came and said, 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk, &c.' We replied, 'You fool, do you think us ignorant of this? learn first yourself and teach the people to whom you

belong these things. For who steal, lie, or are more drunken, than your own people?' And thus we dismissed him also. Some time after, brother Rauch came into my hut, sat down and spoke nearly as follows: 'I come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth. He sends to let you know, that he will make you happy and deliver you from the misery in which you lie at present. For this end he became a man, gave his life a ransom and shed his blood for sinners, &c.' When he had finished his discourse, he lay down fatigued with his journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I thought, what kind of man is this? Here he lies and sleeps; I might kill him and throw him into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern. However I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when asleep I dreamed of the blood of Christ shed for us. I found this to be very different from any thing I had heard before; and I interpreted Rauch's words to the other Indians. Thus, by the grace of God, an awakening commenced among us. I say, therefore, brethren, preach Christ our Saviour and his sufferings and death, if you would wish your words to gain entrance among the heathen."

In their zeal to promote the happiness of mankind the Brethren did not overlook a class of human beings, perhaps the most wretched among the children of fallen Adam—the *Gypsies.** These poor outcasts from society excited the pity of Mr. Richter, a merchant in Stralsund, who had given up his commercial engagements, and resided at Herrnhut, where he manifested an ardent desire to devote his talents and personal services to the benefit of the most abandoned and miserable of his fellow-sinners. The attention he paid to the Gypsies was not altogether in vain, some appearing seriously influenced by

* The Gypsies are supposed to be descendants of the ancient Egyptians. They lead a vagrant life, having no fixed residence, but roving from place to place, putting up their tents where it suits them, and often lodging in ditches, hedge-bottoms, &c. They mostly stroll about in groups, supporting themselves chiefly by fortune-telling and pilfering. They are pretty numerous on the Continent, and not unknown in Great-Britain. Their persons and manners are extremely filthy and disgusting; and they seem to have no kind of religion among them.

religion. But as it was impossible to adopt any permanent measures for the instruction of this vagrant race; Richter went in 1739 to Algiers, in compliance with an application from the Dutch admiral Schryver, who requested that a brother might be sent thither to minister to the spiritual wants of the Christian slaves.

Regardless of the plague, which was then raging in the town, Richter daily visited the slaves in the barracks, ministered to their temporal wants, preached the gospel to them, and attended some of them in the season of sickness and death. While engaged in these labors of love, he caught the infection. From the first attack he recovered, but having a relapse, fell a sacrifice to it in 1740. After some time, the Brethren renewed their endeavours for the benefit of these poor slaves. Charles Notbeck and Gotlieb Habrecht resided in Algiers for several years, and, with permission of the Dey, preached publicly to the slaves and performed other acts of charity in their behalf. They reaped some fruit from their labors in the conversion of a few, who after obtaining their liberty, became members of the Brethren's Church, and finished their race on earth in the faith and hope of the gospel.

Being about this time informed, that the Hospodar (or prince) of Wallachia offered great encouragement to German artificers to settle in his dominions, the Brethren resolved to make use of this opportunity for diffusing the knowledge of pure Christianity among the inhabitants, who are chiefly of the Greek Church. And as it was by persons of this communion, that the gospel was first propagated in Bohemia and Moravia, where the Brethren's Church originated, they determined to send two Brethren, Zachariah Hirschel and Andrew Jaeschke, the former by birth a Bohemian, and the latter a Moravian, to Wallachia, in order to obtain fuller information on the subject. They travelled thither in 1740, soon after peace had been concluded with the Turks. In consequence of the many disbanded soldiers, the country through which they passed, swarmed with robbers, who more than once threatened their lives. On their way through Austria, Hungary, and Transylvania, they met with many persons, to whom their conversation was rendered

profitable; and on July the 4th, arrived in safety at Bucharest, the metropolis. A few days after their arrival, the Hospodar admitted them to an audience, and gave them a letter, signed by himself and his bojars (counsellers of state) inviting the Brethren to settle at Bucharest, with the promise of securing to them the free exercise of their ecclesiastical constitution. But the unexpected death of the Hospodar and the rumour of fresh hostilities with the Turks, for that time terminated these negociations.

With a view of entering into a friendly correspondence with the Greek Church, and of ascertaining how far the Brethren's labors would be countenanced in those countries, which are subject to her ecclesiastical government, a resolution was taken, soon after the two Brethren had proceeded to Wallachia, to send a deputation to the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. The person entrusted with this important mission, was Arvid Gradin. Being furnished with a letter to the Patriarch, written in Greek and signed by the bishops of the Brethren's Church,* and with various other documents relating to the introduction of Christianity into Bohemia and Moravia, and the rise of the Brethren's Church, he set out from Herrnhaag on the 12th of November, 1739, travelling through Holland and France, and after visiting the friends of the Brethren by the way, sailed from Marseilles, and arrived at Constantinople on the 24th of March, 1740. The Swedish ambassador with whom he had formerly been acquainted, accommodated him with a lodging in the consul's mansion at Pera, and as the office of chaplain to the embassy had just then become vacant, he offered it to Gradin. This offer he the more readily accepted, as besides affording

* The letter states, That the object of the Deputation was to convey to the Greek Church an assurance of peace and love from the Brethren's Church—to revive in the former the recollection of her acquaintance with the latter—to give an account of the missionary labors of the Brethren, and of their wish to extend them still farther, especially into the countries about the Black Sea—and to obtain a letter of recommendation to the Greek Clergy for missionaries, who might be sent into districts under their influence. A copy of the original is printed in Bued. Coll. Vol. II. p. 1.

him an opportunity of preaching, it procured him a degree of respect, which was of essential service in his subsequent transactions.

The execution of his commission was greatly facilitated by the archbishop of Derkon, the ablest and most learned among the prelates of the Greek Church at that time. As he spoke the ancient Greek fluently, Gradin found no difficulty in conversing with him, and the archbishop soon felt so much interested in his favor, that he stood his friend throughout the whole of the negociation.

April 26th, he had his first audience with Neophytus, patriarch of Constantinople, and the first dignitary of the Greek Church, who received him with all the formalities of oriental state, at the same time treating him with great kindness and condescension. Of this interview Gradin gives the following description: "Neophytus is past sixty years of age, of a venerable appearance, which was heightened by his long white beard, flowing gently down his breast. He was clad, according to oriental costume, in a superb violet robe. On being presented to him by the archbishop, I kissed his hand, and delivered salutations from my constituents. I then handed him my credentials and other documents. He thanked me, and offered me a seat on the sofa to his left. Having opened the letter he gave it to the archbishop, who read it aloud, adding such explanations in modern Greek, as he deemed necessary. The patriarch promised to read my historical essay and to consider it at his leisure. The first ceremonies being ended, a deacon entered the apartment, bearing a magnificent censor, filled with the costliest perfumes, and handed it to me. This is the highest mark of honour ever shewn to a stranger. I held it a few minutes in my hand, and then returned it to the deacon, who presented it to the patriarch and the archbishop. After this, coffee was handed round in the same order; during which the conversation turned chiefly on my journey. The patriarch dismissed me with the same condescension, with which he had received me; and the archbishop accompanied me to the stairs."

Gradin, however, soon discovered that, notwithstanding the good will of the patriarch and archbishop, and other dignitaries

of the Greek Church, they had not much in their power, and in their recommendation of the Brethren's Church were obliged to proceed with the utmost caution. They had to guard against the jealousies of the Russian government, the hatred of the Turks, the machinations of the Roman Catholics, and the artifices of the members of their own communion, who never scrupled to supplant their superiors for the purpose of promoting their own fortunes. Their fears on these accounts went so far, that though the patriarch allowed Gradin to visit him as often as he pleased, these visits, in order to avoid observation, were directed to be made early in the morning between three and six o'clock. Considering that it is very unsafe to be abroad at this early hour in Constantinople, Gradin was very thankful that he never met with the least molestation.

At length, however, a writing was made out and presented to the deputy by the archbishop. It was written on parchment, signed by the patriarch of Constantinople, countersigned by the chief chancellor, Kritias, sealed with the patriarchal seal, and addressed to the patriarchs and bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. It sets forth: "That the Moravian Church had received its guides and teachers from the Eastern Church, and held the same faith and apostolical doctrine, and that it was therefore entitled to their love and care, &c."* This doctrine was drawn up with the greatest precaution, so as to avoid every expression, which might create the least suspicion in the minds of any of their enemies. To the deputy however it was not satisfactory. In his opinion it asserted more than was true, as the Brethren's Church does not agree with the Greek in every article of the Christian faith, &c. He therefore took a copy of the letter, and returned the original. As his conduct in this particular was not approved by the Brethren, application was made to the archbishop of Derkon to recover the original. But Neophytus having in the mean time been deposed, through the malice of his own nation; the new patriarch was deterred from further interference. So much, how-

* Extracts from this document are inserted in Acta Fratrum. Append. p. 35.

ever, was gained by this deputation, that the origin of the Brethren's Unity was acknowledged by the Greek Church, which had no small influence in facilitating some negociations at a later period.

Some years after the Brethren endeavoured to form acquaintance with the remnant of their ancient Church in Poland; but owing to its depressed state at that time, the Senior (or Bishop) in Lissa refused to admit the deputy, sent thither in 1742. To the same cause it must be ascribed, that the Brethren were not permitted to have any intercourse with their friends in the country. The consequence was, that the more sincere among them moved to the settlement in Neusalz.

In their endeavours to preach the gospel to people of every nation, the Brethren did not forget the *Jews*. Leonhard Dober and another brother spent some time in Amsterdam, principally with a view of benefitting God's ancient people. But no minister of their Church devoted more of his time and attention to the Jews, than the Rev. Samuel Lieberekuehn.* He cultivated a friendly intercourse with them for upwards of thirty years, particularly while he was minister of the Brethren's congregations in Amsterdam and Zeist. Except once, when permitted to address them in public in the Synagogue at Groningen, he confined his instructions to private conversations. The method he took was, to avoid all disputes about the Trinity, (a doctrine, which they are ever ready to urge as a proof that Christians deny the Unity of God, )and to insist on this fundamental truth, that Jesus is the Messiah, because he has proved it by his whole life on earth, and confirmed it by his resurrection from the dead. He made indeed no proselytes, yet many were so far convinced of the truth of the gospel, that they frequented his sermons in great numbers, whenever he preached in any town, where they resided. Some even attended his ministry at Zeist; and they had such love and respect for him, that they called him Rabbi Schmuel (or Samuel.)

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* He had studied divinity at Jena, and was one of the ablest Hebrew scholars of his day.

During this period some baptized Jews from other places, became members of the Brethren's Church, and one of them made a journey to Poland and Prussia, where an expectation had being excited among the Jews, that the time of their deliverance was at hand. But the gospel found no entrance among them at that time.

## SECTION X.

*Continuation of the History—Extravagant proceedings at* HERRNHAAG *and in other congregations—Occasion much Controversy and are happily checked—The Exile of count* ZINZENDORF *terminates—Evacuation of* HERRNHAAG *and building of* NEUWIED*—Financial embarrasment of the Brethren—Is relieved by count* ZINZENDORF *and others, &c.*

THE labors of the Brethren were beheld with different feelings by persons of different persuasions. Some recognized the hand of God in the revival of their Church, and viewed their undertakings, for the extension of Christ's spiritual kingdom, as the commencement of a new and blessed era in the history of the world. Others considered them as fanatics, whose proceedings were dangerous both to church and state. Others again stood in doubts of them. They saw much in their conduct to approve, while some things excited a suspicion, that the Brethren were neither orthodox in their faith, nor sound in their Christian practice. This difference of opinion may easily be accounted for. The cause of much of the opposition they met with, originated in the natural enmity of the unrenewed heart against all who are determined, at all hazards, faithfully to obey the will of God, as far as they know it. But there were other causes, which operated in an unfavourable manner, and rendered the Brethren suspected of sinister views in the eyes of many worthy and pious men, and justly exposed them to censure. These causes shall now be mentioned with strict regard to truth, and with as much brevity as possible.

Men are ever prone to err, and to go from one extreme to the other; and this was in a degree the case with the Brethren. The founders and first members of the renewed Church of the Brethren were men of much seriousness and gravity. Though

they were sound in every essential article of the Christian faith, they were not wholly delivered from a legal spirit. But in proportion as the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith, without the works of the law, became better understood, and was applied to the hearts by the Holy Ghost, the spirit of bondage was succeeded by the spirit of adoption, and fear gave place to love. Disclaiming all their own works and merit, and relying for pardon and sanctification on the one oblation offered for the sins of the world, the passion of Christ became truly dear and precious to them. Looking unto Jesus as the Author and Finisher of their faith, was now, not only the principal, but almost the exclusive, subject of religious instruction in the Brethren's Church. Repentance, faith, and good works, were derived solely from this doctrine, and maintained in due exercise by its influence. This we must consider as the main spring of the almost incredible exertions of the Brethren during this period.

Thus far all was well. But, through the subtilty of Satan, aided by the deceitfulness of the human heart, the Church of the Brethren was in imminent danger of making shipwreck of the faith in another quarter. In their zeal to root out self-righteousness, they were not sufficiently on their guard against levity in expression. The delight they took in speaking of the sufferings of Christ, which arose from the penetrating sense they had of their infinite value, by degrees degenerated into fanciful representations of the various scenes of his passion. Their style in speaking and writing lost its former plainness and simplicity, and became turgid, puerile, and fanatical, abounding in playful allusions to Christ as the lamb, the bridegroom, &c. by which he is described in holy writ, and in fanciful representations of the wound in his side. In describing the spiritual relation between Christ and his Church, the highly figurative language of the Canticles was substituted in the place of the dignified simplicity, used by our Saviour and his Apostles, when speaking on this subject. Some less experienced preachers even seemed to vie with each other in introducing into their discourses, the most extravagant, and often wholly unintelligible expressions. This kept the hearers

in a state of constant excitement, but was not calculated to subject every thought of the heart to the obedience of Christ. Religion, instead of enlightening the understanding, governing the affections, and regulating the general conduct, became a play of the imagination.

This species of fanaticism first broke out at Herrnhaag, in the year 1746, and from thence spread into several other congregations. Many were carried away by it, for it seemed to promise a certain joyous perfection, representing believers as innocent, playful children, who might be quite at their ease amidst all the trials and difficulties, incident to the present life. The effect produced was such as might be expected. The more serious members of the Church (and these after all formed the major part) bitterly lamented an evil, which they could not at once eradicate. Others, considering the malady as incurable, withdrew from its communion. The behavior of such as were most infected with this error, though not immoral and criminal, was yet highly disgraceful to their Christian profession. Had not God in mercy averted the impending danger, a spirit of religious levity and antinomianism might by degrees, have sapped the very foundation of the Brethren's Church, and completed her ruin.

The bold style and often eccentric expressions, used by count Zinzendorf, has, with some appearance of truth, been considered as the origin of this error. Now though expressions are to be met with in his sermons and hymns, which, especially when separated from their connection, appear paradoxical and are liable to be misconstrued; yet he never countenanced the extravagance here complained of. He may, however, be justly blamed, as is allowed by his biographer,* for not interposing the authority, he doubtless possessed, of checking the evil in its first rising, before it had time to gather strength and spread. Two reasons may be assigned for his remissness in this. First, when it broke out in Wetteravia, he and many of the chief ministers were absent; and secondly, he had such an aversion

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* Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf.

against enforcing discipline, except in case of positive error in doctrine, or immorality of conduct, lest it should produce hypocrisy, that he was always willing to spare offenders, hoping, that by the teaching of the Spirit of God, they would soon discover their error, and be led to repentance. No sooner, however, was he fully informed of the existing evil and its pernicious consequences, if not arrested in its progress, than he adopted means for suppressing it. From London, where he then resided, he, in 1749, addressed a letter to all the congregations, sharply reproving them for their past conduct, and exhorting them to repent and do their first works. With this letter he dispatched some Brethren to Germany, and commissioned his son in law, bishop Watteville, who had just returned from America, to hold a visitation in all the German congregations. He followed them the next year, and convened a Synod, which assembled at Barby in the summer of 1750, and after an adjournment of some months, continued its deliberations at Herrnhut in 1751.

By these measures a stop was put to the spreading evil. Very few of those, who had participated in the offence, remained obstinate and separated from the Church. The greater part were convinced of their error, and proved the sincerity of their repentance by gladly returning to the good old way. Those ministers and laborers, who were not sufficiently established, and in whom a relapse might be apprehended, were deposed from their offices. Thus by the merciful help of God this *sifting* (as the Brethren used to call it,) terminated before it had produced any permanently injurious consequences. It was even overruled for good. It taught the Brethren the necessity of adhering to the simplicity of the gospel, being satisfied to receive their share of its blessings, in the same manner, in which they are imparted to all sincere Christians. Upon many persons, who had observed their proceedings and entertained doubts of them, their deliverance from the spirit of fanaticism made so deep an impression, that they declared it to be their conviction, that the cause of the Brethren was truly the cause of God, by whose interposition alone their Church

had been rescued from the impending danger, and preserved from utter ruin.

As far then as concerned the Brethren themselves and persons, who formed a candid and charitable judgment, the injurious consequences, which might justly have been apprehended, were happily averted. The public at large, however, were not disposed to put the same favorable construction on these proceedings. They formed a fair pretext for indulging their hatred of the Brethren. And, though they could not justly be charged with any immoral practices; yet their childish, rather than wicked, aberrations from the simplicity of evangelical doctrine, brought upon them a torrent of abuse from all quarters. For it unfortunately happened, that the abettors of these extravagant notions were not content with giving the reins to their wild fancies in their colloquial intercourse, and in their extemporaneous effusions before the congregation; but they sought to perpetuate them by printed discourses and hymns. Many of these were translated into English, Dutch, and other languages; and thus the error was not only widely propagated, but a formidable weapon was put into the hands of their enemies, who were not slack in availing themselves of it. A host of opponents arose. Some indeed wrote with candour and in reality proved the best friends of the Brethren, by shewing them, that though they denied no essential doctrines of the gospel, their deviations from the purity of Scripture language had given just offence to many sincere persons.

But there were others who wrote in a very different spirit. Their object was neither the elucidation of truth, nor the recovery of the Brethren from the error, into which they had fallen. Their pamphlets abounded in mutilated quotations from the Brethren's hymns and other writings, in foul misrepresentations, and barefaced untruths. Having thus succeeded in stringing together a number of objectionable phrases, garbled sentences, and puerile expressions, they drew from them the most unwarrantable, and often contradictory, conclusions,* in-

* The following is one instance among many of the contradictory and opposite conclusions drawn from their writings. The archbishop of Upsal, in Sweden cautioned his friends against the Brethren as persons

ferring, or wishing to infer, that the Brethren were a dangerous sect, that they were heretical in their doctrine, and immoral and impious in their lives. As the Brethren were not forward in defending themselves, these calumnies found the readier credit with many, and were the principal cause of the opposition they met with in their labors in Russia, Holland, and other countries.

The Brethren themselves endeavoured to profit by these controversies. Conscious that in many things they had been to blame, they frankly acknowledged their faults, implored the forgiveness of God and man, and endeavoured to restore scriptural purity both in their discourses and practice. Committing their cause to him, who judgeth righteously, they seldom answered the accusations brought against them. But as their silence was construed into a tacit acknowledgment of guilt, they at length yielded to the solicitations of their friends, who feared that the interests of religion would suffer, if no answer or explanation were given. Bishop Spangenberg was, therefore, requested once more to examine all the controversial writings against the Brethren, and prepare a reply. This he did by arranging the accusations in the form of questions, subjoining plain, candid, and concise answers to each, adding authentic vouchers in an appendix to his "Apologetic Declaration." The manuscript was laid before the Synod, held at Barby in 1750, and approved; such accusations as were made against count Zinzendorf personally, were answered by him on the spot, and written down by the secretary.* About the same time the

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who denied the divinity and atonement of Christ, rejected the doctrines of sanctification and justification, and set aside the Holy Scriptures, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. In Germany the reverse was asserted, and they were accused of too highly extolling Christ and his atonement.

* The accusations collected by Spangenberg, amounted in all to more than seventeen hundred. They with the answers and appendixes were printed in three quarto volumes, in 1751, with the several titles of Apologetic Declaration, &c.—True Answers to more than 300 Accusations, &c.—and, Final Apology. Previous to this count Zinzendorf published an Apology in 1745, entitled, The Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus in its purity. A concise account of the controversy may be read in Natural Reflections p. 117—144.

Rev. William Frederick Jung, a Lutheran clergyman in Wetteravia, published a vindication of the Brethren, entitled, "Dr. Luther still living, teaching, suffering and conquering in count Zinzendorf," which consists of a collection of parallel passages, extracted from the writings of these two divines.

These Apologies had the desired effect with impartial readers, and by degrees secured to the Brethren the esteem of many, who had hitherto been prejudiced against them, occasioned the removal of various restrictions, which had impeded their labors in several countries, and procured for them the favor and protection of most Protestant governments.

This favorable change of opinion evidenced itself in a very striking manner in Saxony. When count Zinzendorf, in 1736, was exiled from the Saxon dominions, he observed that it would take at least ten years to carry into effect certain plans, which he had formed for extending Christ's spiritual kingdom in the earth, by the instrumentality of the Brethren's Church. His activity in the execution of these plans is sufficiently evident from the foregoing relation. All his endeavours to obtain an impartial investigation of the charges preferred against himself and the Brethren having failed, he determined to bear his exile with Christian patience, and wait the Lord's time for bringing his innocence to light. In this spirit he inserted the following remark in his diary: "The main support of the Brethren's Church will proceed from that very quarter, from which its ruin is expected to arise, as soon as we desist from all our own endeavours, and for some years refrain from all application for relief." And in another place: "Our Saviour's wonderful dealings with us in Saxony is designed to counteract well-concerted schemes of our adversaries, and will raise us to honor in the very place, from whence all wicked defamations originated and spread throughout the world."

After the lapse of ten years, an apparently casual circumstance led to the realization of his hopes without any solicitation on his part. The estate of Great Hennersdorf which belonged to his late grandmother, was offered on sale to him; and after some hesitation, he consented that his eldest daughter should make the purchase. This negociation coming to the knowledge

of the court of Saxony, an enquiry was set on foot, concerning the reasons of count Zinzendorf's exile, his present situation, and the state of the Brethren's Church in other countries. The result was, that it was intimated to him by an official letter from the government, that he was at liberty to return to Saxony whenever he pleased. To him it was a gratifying circumstance, that just at that time an opportunity was afforded him of testifying his loyalty and unaltered attachment to his native country, by rendering it some important service. This fully re-instated him in favor with the court. The bailiwick of Barby was offered to the Brethren, and it was signified to them, that it would accord with the wishes of government, if more settlements like Herrnhut were established in the Saxon dominions.* A royal decree was issued, October 11th, 1747, reinstating count Zinzendorf in all his privileges in Saxony.

Before he availed himself of this decree, he once more petitioned for an examination of himself and the Church of the Brethren, and for this purpose went to Dresden in the following spring. The court declared itself fully persuaded of the rectitude of his and the Brethren's proceedings, and declined any further examination. At length however he prevailed, and a commission was appointed consisting of nine persons of the highest authority in Church and state. The commission was opened on July 29th, 1748, in the Mansion-house at Great Hennersdorf, and continued its sittings till the 12th of August. Its conferences were atttended by deputies from the Brethren's Church, and as Herrnhut lies within the short distance of a mile, the commissioners often went thither, and were present at the meetings of the congregation. The examination terminated to the entire satisfaction of both parties. The Commissioners having given in their report, a Royal Charter was issued, dated September 20th, 1749, empowering the Brethren to form settlements in any part of the Saxon dominions, and conceding to them full liberty of conscience, &c.

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* How far this wish was acceded to may be seen in the 3rd Section of this chapter.

These favourable occurrences in Saxony, were followed by others of a very opposite character, in Wetteravia. The building of a settlement in this country, near the town of Ysenburg, has been mentioned in a preceding section. To this settlement the then reigning count of Ysenburg Buedingen, Ernest Casimir, had granted various civil and religious privileges and immunities, in the enjoyment of which he protected the Brethren during his life, notwithstanding the calumnies raised against them. But after his decease, in 1749, their adversaries laid new plans for their destruction. They insinuated into the mind of his successor, that the Brethren were a most heretical and dangerous sect, which ought not to be tolerated in Christendom. Several things were required of them contrary to the contract, made with the former sovereign, and in direct violation of the privileges he had granted them. In their remonstrances against these proceedings, the Brethren did not always act with sufficient caution, and sometimes lost sight of that submission, which is required of subjects to their rulers. At Herrnhaag those extravagancies, which have been related in the beginning of this section, gave a color of truth to the accusations of their enemies.

It was impossible that these things should long remain unknown at Buedingen, and the adversaries considered the present a fair opportunity for gaining their ends, by alienating the congregation at Herrnhaag from count Zinzendorf, and separating it from the Brethren's Church. The ceremony of paying homage to the new sovereign was fixed on as a suitable occasion for making the attempt. A summons was sent to the Brethren to hold themselves in readiness for the performance of this duty. The summons was punctually obeyed, and they appeared at court on the day appointed, being January 11th, 1750, humbly petitioning that their affirmation might be taken instead of the usual form of an oath, and that those members of the congregation, who were strangers, and not residents in the country, might be totally exempt. This petition was rejected, and a threatening letter, filled the basest accusations, transmitted to the Minister and Elders, with positive orders to read it to the whole congregation. It likewise contained a copy of the oath

they were enjoined to take, and by virtue of which they were, among other things, to abjure "all subordination to count Zinzendorf and such persons, whom he or his colleagues should appoint to be elders and rulers of the congregation at Herrnhaag." To this the Elders returned for answer, that they would promise all due obedience, but could not do homage in the manner prescribed, as they would thereby give up the liberty of conscience, granted by the original contract, would tacitly admit the accusations of their enemies &c. They therefore requested an impartial examination. In their reply the regency endeavoured to prove the accusations, but rejected the examination, and positively commanded them to separate from count Zinzendorf and the Brethren's Church.

Having failed in their attempts to adjust matters, the Elders read the Order and Oath to the congregation, desiring them to weigh the subject well, and then to give their answer to a Public Notary in the presence of proper witnesses. The result was, that all unanimously declared, that they could not in conscience submit to the demands made; but would show due obedience to their new sovereign, as became loyal subjects. A petition to this effect was presented, but forthwith rejected, and after three weeks spent in fruitless endeavours to effect an accommodation, the Brethren resolved to be silent and abide the consequences. On February 18th, they were once more summoned to assemble in the chapel to hear the final resolution of the government. A printed proclamation was read to them, full of invective and false accusation. To this the Rev. Samuel Lieberkuehn replied in the name of the whole congregation, that, as the original contract had been broken, and they were not suffered to live in a country, where people of various religious denominations had for many years found shelter, and as they were falsely accused by their enemies, no opportunity being given for defending themselves &c. they would rather evacuate the settlement and leave their property behind them, than act against their consciences, and dissolve their connection with the Brethren's Church. This produced an edict from the government, ordaining the total evacuation of Herrnhaag within the space of three years.

The fury of the storm being now in a great measure exhausted, a partial calm succeeded, which gave the inhabitants leisure for profitable reflection. Reviewing all the circumstances, connected with the order of the government, little doubt can remain on the mind of an impartial observer, that the Brethren were, in this instance, persecuted for righteousness' sake. At the same time it must be allowed, that the before mentioned extravagancies, which had originated and gained the greatest ascendancy at Herrnhaag, furnished their adversaries with a fair pretext for treating them with so much severity.

With the exception of a single individual, (but who in the sequel sincerely lamented his defection) all the inhabitants resolved to evacuate the settlement, and to leave their large houses and extensive manufactures behind them. During the first year, nearly five hundred persons had emigrated, and before the expiration of the term allowed for their removal, Herrnhaag was left wholly destitute of inhabitants. The emigrants were accommodated in other congregations. The numerous and flourishing institutions for education were translated to Upper Lusatia.

This was a step by no means contemplated by the government of Buedingen, who never imagined that a large and rich community, (for such the inhabitants had become by their industry,) would relinquish all their possessions purely from religious motives. The neighbouring villages complained grievously of the loss they had sustained, in consequence of the evacuation of the settlement; and not a few, observing the Christian deportment of the Brethren under these unjust proceedings, were struck with admiration, and applied for admission to their Church, saying: "Thy God shall be my God, and thy people shall be my people, where thou dwellest I will dwell."

The Brethren might indeed have sought, and had well grounded hopes of obtaining, redress of their grievances, as the contract made with them had been forcibly broken. But they preferred to suffer in silence, especially as they viewed the wrong done them, as a divine chastisement for the offences of which they had been guilty in the sight of God. Impressed

with this idea, count Zinzendorf remarked in his discourse at the close of the year 1750: "The evacuation of Herrnhaag is nothing less than a deliverance from the greatest danger. The prospect at first was indeed very dark; yet it is certain that our situation there was extremely dangerous. While I live I shall number this occurrence among the particular mercies of God. For though the chastisement, while it lasted, appeared very grievous, it was followed by no after-pains. It has yielded, and will continue to yield, the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them that were exercised thereby; and it will be profitable to all of us. Not to mention the many individuals who were here prepared for the Lord's service,—it was in this place the secret hurts, endangering the health of our whole Church, first broke out. The sincere repentance, which followed, produced here and in other congregations which were more or less infected by the disease, deeper knowledge of the depravity of our hearts."

Among the emigrants from Herrnhaag were many natives of France. These availed themselves of the invitation of the reigning count of Neuwied, John Frederick Alexander, to retire to his territory. After a strict examination of their doctrine and constitution, he passed an edict in their favor, in 1751, in which he conceded to them such civil and ecclesiastical privileges as they required for forming a settlement of the Brethren's Church. A lot of ground for building was made over to them at one end of the town. In a few years the necessary public and private buildings were completed, and the number of inhabitants amounted to more than six hundred. Many of them were skilful artizans, who contributed much to the temporal prosperity of the settlement. The inhabitants enjoyed the favor and protection of the government, the good will of the magistracy, and the esteem of their fellow citizens. Public worship was numerously attended; and NEUWIED * formed the centre of a pretty large circle, including the Palatinate, Westphalia, Switzerland, and France, in which the

* Neuwied lies on the Rhine, about 10 miles N. W. of Coblentz.

Brethren found frequent opportunities of doing good, and forming a spiritual union with many pious members, both among the clergy and laity, of the German Calvinistic Church.

While yet smarting under the painful consequences of the events just described, the Brethren's Church was involved in new and most perplexing difficulties, arising from financial embarrassments. To give the reader a just idea of this it is necessary to enter a little into detail.

The expenses, connected with the renewal of the Brethren's Church, the building of Herrnhut and other Settlements, the support of the theological seminary and other institutions for education, the sending of deputations to courts, universities, and persons of rank, the establishment of Missions in various heathen countries, the numerous voyages and journies undertaken for that purpose, and the maintenance of ministers and other laborers, their widows and children, amounted annually, to a very considerable sum. It far exceeded the means of the Brethren themselves to meet this expenditure. Count Zinzendorf and his lady, therefore, with a generosity as noble, as it was uncommon, devoted the whole of their joint properties, which in the beginning was very considerable, to the furtherance of the work, reserving a very small proportion for their domestic expenses. They were occasionally assisted by some of their relatives and friends, and by such Brethren whom God had blessed with affluence and a liberal mind. When the ordinary resources failed, count Zinzendorf found no difficulty in borrowing large sums on the security of his estates, which he was ever ready to do, when any undertaking for promoting the cause of God, required a heavy expenditure. Though he did not altogether object to the raising of money for pious and charitable purposes, by subscriptions or public collections; yet he felt so strong a dislike to it, that he would never adopt it; consequently this method, which might often have relieved them, was not resorted to by the Brethren at that time.

In proportion as their sphere of action was enlarged, the sum, annually required for carrying on the work, was greatly augmented; and it was found necessary to adopt measures for rendering the resources of the Church in some degree equal to

the demands made upon it. To effect this, some persons in Holland offered to advance a large sum of money at a very low rate of interest, in order to pay off capitals, bearing very high interest; and which, in consequence of count Zinzendorf's exile from Saxony, were pressingly called in by his creditors. This offer he thankfully accepted, as it enabled him, after the old capitals had been paid off, to devote a larger proportion of the produce of his estates towards defraying the expenses of the Church. With the proffered loan they combined the proposal of raising annual contributions among themselves and their friends, in aid of the Brethren's labors among Christians and Heathen. The management of the money thus raised was intrusted to a *General Committee of Finance*, which acted in concert with countess Zinzendorf, who, during the banishment of her consort, was sole administratrix of his temporalities; a trust, which she discharged with the greatest prudence and fidelity.

For several years the Committee of Finance were, by God's blessing, enabled to execute their trust without any very great difficulty, as both the ministers and other servants of the Church and its private members, used the utmost frugality, in order to have more to spare for general exigencies. By degrees, however, a defection from this spirit became more and more apparent; the members of the Church slackened in their contributions, some congregations, instead of maintaining their own laborers, drew on the general fund, and aid from benevolent friends became less frequent. At the same time the expenses for foreign service were yearly augmented. This discouraged even those, who had hitherto been the most zealous and active. The evacuation of Herrnhaag also, which took place at this very time, and the losses and actual expenses connected with it, rendered the burden almost intolerable. The Brethren, indeed, had still sufficient credit to borrow money on interest, but this, though a temporary relief, only rendered the prospect into futurity more alarming.

In 1753 this distress reached its height, and was most oppressively felt in England. Some merchants in London, who had advanced considerable sums to the Brethren, were thrown

into very great embarrassment in consequence of the fraudulent bankruptcy of a Jew, with whom they had engaged in extensive bill negociations. This obliged the Brethren to become responsible for a much larger sum, than they really owed, or were at once able to raise. No sooner was this known, than their other creditors became uneasy, and likewise demanded payment. Count Zinzendorf, who was then in Germany, immediately hastened to London, in order to save the credit of the Brethren, and prevent reproach from falling on the cause of Christ, through the mistakes of men. He offered to take all the debts upon himself, and pay both principal and interest, by certain instalments, at proper intervals, to be mutually agreed on. An eminent lawyer, employed by the Brethren as their agent, was so struck with this disinterested and generous conduct of the count, that he spoke of it in terms of the highest commendation, and used all his influence to induce the creditors to accept the conditions that were offered. A few, however, who were bitter enemies of the Brethren and hoped to effect their total ruin, refused, and for a while impeded the negociation. To put a stop to further vexations, the other creditors agreed to pay off those, who were dissatisfied; and to have the deed engrossed and executed. This was done accordingly; and the creditors, as a mark of their esteem, deputed two of their number, to wait on count Zinzendorf, and return him their cordial thanks, for his noble and generous conduct.

"This was indeed," (as Crantz remarks) "a season of great distress, an hour of temptation, in which the thoughts of many hearts were revealed. Many friends lost their courage and drew back, as they saw no way by which the Brethren might extricate themselves. The enemies exulted, and spared no pains to render the fall as certain and conspicuous as possible. But God, for the advancement of whose kingdom they had in faith ventured their all, and in whom they still reposed filial confidence, remained faithful, and did not suffer them to be tempted above that they were able to bear, and with the temptation made a way for them to escape. With one hand he inflicted correction for their faults, and with the other imparted

unmerited favors. He sent them help in every time of need, and that very often when the distress had risen to the highest pitch. To mention but one instance among many, of which I was an eye witness myself, I shall always remember with love and gratitude the providential help, we experienced on the 2nd of March, 1753. A large sum was to be paid that day, for which a merchant, who was no member of the Brethren's Church, had become accountable. The expected remittance, had not arrived, and the merchant was upon the point of being arrested, as he was unable to make good his engagement. Resolved to preserve the credit of this innocent man, count Zinzendorf offered to go to prison for him. At this critical moment, the expected remittance arrived; whereby the evil intentions of the enemies were again frustrated." *

Thus, by the gracious providence of God, the ruin which threatened the Brethren's Church was averted, and this supplied its members with a fruitful subject for gratitude and humiliation. The 23d of February, 1754, was observed as a day of public thanksgiving in all the congregations. For though much remained to be done before the heavy burden, which oppressed them, could be entirely removed, the gracious deliverance, they had already experienced, animated their faith and hope for the future. Nor was their confidence put to shame.

Painful as their past experience was, its consequences were salutary. It taught the Brethren, who were ready to venture their all for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, those maxims of prudence, which, as far as human agency is concerned, can never be neglected without obvious detriment to the cause we wish to promote. They were conscious that in this particular, they had sometimes erred, and thereby put a stumbling-block in the way of those, who sought occasion of offence. The deliverance they had received from the Lord, encouraged them to hope, that he had accepted their repentance, and graciously forgiven their faults. It had the further beneficial effect of awakening in the breasts of the members of their Church the spirit of true brotherly love, which looketh not at its own

* Cranz's Hist. of Breth. p. 414.

things only, but also at those of others. Charity may indeed be said to have had its perfect work. All were ready to assist in bearing the burden of the whole, and many exerted themselves even beyond their ability. And lastly, the Brethren learned by this occurrence to trust for their daily bread to the care of their heavenly Father, and to understand, by practical experience, the true meaning of our Saviour's admonition to his disciples: "Take no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

## SECTION XI.

*Obituaries of* Christian David—Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf—*Countess* Zinzendorf—*and* David Nitschmann.

Several individuals, who had taken a very active share in the renewal and subsequent extension of the Brethren's Church, finished their earthly pilgrimage during this period. A few notices of the closing scene of their lives will, it is presumed, not prove uninteresting.

Among these Christian David was the first, whom his divine Master called to his eternal reward. To those circumstances of his life, with which the reader has previously been made acquainted, it is only necessary to add, that besides the visits he paid to his native country, he made several journies in behalf of the Brethren into Bohemia, Switzerland, and Livonia. In 1733, he conducted the first Missionaries to Greenland, and visited that country twice afterwards; in 1747 to superintend the building of a church at New Herrnhut, and two years after, to conduct some Greenland converts, who had paid a visit in Europe, to their native country. His proper residence was Herrnhut, where, when not engaged in active services for the Church, he followed his trade as a carpenter. The congregation respected and loved him as a child and servant of God. He closed his useful life on the 3rd of February, 1751, in the sixty-first year of his age. In the discourse delivered at his

funeral, count Zinzendorf gives the following brief sketch of his character: "He was a man of so extraordinary a character, that we used to say, we have but *one* Christian David. He served our Lord Jesus Christ with gladness of heart, and by day and night lived in the closest communion of spirit with Him. The Bible was so precious to him, that he was never tired of reading it; and found true pasture for his soul in it to the end of his life. He deeply felt and was ever ready to confess, that he was a poor and miserable sinner; yet this did not rob him of confidence in our Saviour; on the contrary, he was strong in faith. He was never idle; and whatever his hands found to do, he did it with all his might and prospered. If once convinced that he was undertaking any thing *according to the will of his Lord*, and for the good of his neighbour, he did not suffer himself to be hindered by any difficulties in its execution. He made frequent mistakes; but was ever ready to acknowledge himself in the wrong, when clearly convinced of his error; nor did he rest, till he was assured of pardon. And when divine comfort was again restored to his soul, he prosecuted his calling with his accustomed cheerfulness." *

His talents as a Laborer in the Brethren's Church, fitted him not so much for the office of an Elder, which he held for some time at Herrnhut, as for that of a Missionary, in the discharge of which he shunned no toil and feared no danger. Hence, of his own accord and often at the risk of his life, he paid several visits to his benighted countrymen, and was employed by the Brethren in various undertakings for the spread of the gospel, especially when new ground was to be broken up; and God made him the honored instrument of leading many sinners to repentance. His discourses shewed that he had formed a clear conception of the truth he was propounding, and could hardly fail both to convince the understanding and to reach the heart. What they wanted of that polish, which human learning might have given them, was amply supplied by his extensive knowledge of Scripture. Some of his Hymns have been printed in the Brethren's (German) Hymn Book. They

* Life of Zinzendorf, p. 1867.

breathe the spirit of an undaunted servant of God, ready to venture his all and life itself in extending the kingdom of his Saviour.

Christian Renatus, count Zinzendorf's eldest son, fell asleep in Jesus, on the 29th of May, 1752, in London, in his twenty-fifth year. After completing his studies at the university at Jena, his father took him to his own house, in order to prepare him for service in the Brethren's Church, which fully accorded with the wishes of the young count. The pious education he had received, had not only stored his mind with a correct knowledge of divine truth, and preserved his moral character untainted by vice, but laid the foundation to true conversion of heart. But his natural vivacity, and comparative inexperience, drew him insensibly into those extravagancies, which at a certain period disgraced the conduct of many members of the congregation at Herrnhaag. His father severely reproved him, deposed him from his office as Elder of the Single Brethren, and called him to London, where he then resided with his family. This produced a salutary effect on the son. He deeply lamented his error and the time, he had unprofitably spent in soaring above the simplicity of the gospel, and aiming at something higher than the free grace of God in Christ Jesus.

The undissembled sincerity of his repentance soon re-instated him in the affection of his father, who, as heretofore, employed him as his assistant in his labors. In these services he spent all his energies, often exerting himself beyond his strength, and unknown to his father, sat whole nights in his study. This gradually undermined his constitution, and brought on a consumption which terminated in his happy dissolution. During his last illness, which lasted three months, his conversation and whole deportment were truly edifying. He seemed like one, whose affections were entirely weaned from earth, and whose spirit was already in the possession of heavenly bliss.

Since his return to the simplicity of the gospel, from which he had for a short time deviated, a marked alteration took place in his whole manner. His lively disposition was exchanged for great gravity of deportment far above his years. The pain he felt on account of his former errors, redoubled the vigilance and

zeal, with which he guarded against their recurrence in himself and others. Hence it was his constant and earnest endeavour, both in his discourses and letters, to impress on his Brethren, the necessity of keeping the word of Christ's patience, in its scriptural simplicity and purity. His own soul was truly inflamed with love to Jesus and gratitude for his passion and death, as the sole cause of man's salvation, and the only source of a holy life and conversation. He often employed his leisure hours in composing hymns and spiritual songs. Many of these are still in use in the Brethren's Church, and some have been translated and inserted in our English Hymn Book. They testify the delight of his soul in contemplating the wonders of redemption, and the pantings of his heart after greater conformity to his Saviour.

Four years after the death of her son, his honored mother, Erdmuth Dorothy, countess Zinzendorf, likewise entered into the rest, which remaineth for the people of God. After her marriage with the count, in 1722, she engaged with her whole heart and mind in all those plans for the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom, in the execution of which her consort labored with such unabated zeal to the end of his life. Endowed by her Creator with rare talents, and still rarer piety for a person of such exalted rank, she knew no higher honor, than freely to consecrate them all to his glory. The Brethren's Church will ever revere her memory as a devoted handmaid of the Lord, and bless Him for the benefits conferred upon it by her instrumentality.

She spent the last year of her life at Herrnhut, and was present at the opening of the Synod, which assembled in the month of June, 1756; but could not attend many of the sessions, in consequence of indisposition, which without much pain or suffering, terminated her valuable life, on the 19th of June, in the fifty-sixth year of her age.

Countess Zinzendorf was a lady of no common endowments, and perhaps the only one, who, in every respect, could have so completely adapted herself to the peculiar situation, in which she was placed by her marriage, and the vocation of her consort. She knew how to unite the manners of a lady, with the humility

becoming a sincere follower of Jesus. In her condescension to inferiors, and her desire not to exalt herself above the meanest of her brethren and sisters, who are all equal in Christ Jesus, she never lost sight of the distinction due to her rank in civil society. This secured to her the confidence and respect of her domestics and tenants, and gained for her the friendship and esteem of all the members of the Brethren's Church. She possessed an extensive knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and correct views of the doctrines of the gospel, and was not unacquainted with human science and polite literature. Her correspondence and social intercourse with others, no less than her general conduct, indicated a strong mind and sound judgment. Her courage and penetration never failed her, even in the most trying circumstances, which made her counsel much sought, for it was seldom found to be wrong. In the application of her property she acted with noble liberality, careful not to squander it on trifles or vain show, her domestic expenses were regulated with the greatest economy. But when the destitute were to be relieved, or the cause of God promoted, she distributed with a bountiful hand, and often even beyond her ability.

In reference to her union with count Zinzendorf it is not sufficient to say, that she discharged, with Christian fidelity, all the duties of a wife, mother, and mistress of her family, but she entered into all his views, for the propagation of the gospel, and became his faithful coadjutrix in his labors for the good of the Brethren's Church, gladly sharing in the reproach he suffered for the name of Christ. When for the gospel's sake he relinquished all his expectations of wealth and worldly honor, and subjected himself to banishment and persecution, instead of repinig at her loss, (as the world would call it,) she accounted it gain to suffer the loss of all things that she might win Christ. Instead of harrassing her consort by grieving and murmuring, she confirmed him in his resolution, and encouraged his faith and trust in God. When he was disqualified from attending to his temporal concerns, she took the whole management of his estates, as well as of his domestic affairs, into her own hands. Though of a delicate constitution and the mother

of twelve children, she accompanied her husband on many of his journies and voyages, or bore repeated and long separations from him, without repining, whenever they were rendered necessary by his labors in the vineyard of Christ. In short they were one heart and soul, not only in their conjugal relation, but in their determination, to consecrate themselves, their children, their time and their wealth to Christ and his service.

David Nitschmann was another of those, whom God honored to be one of his instruments in renewing the Brethren's Church, and who during this period was called to rest from his labors. His descent from the ancient Brethren, his escape from prison, and arrival at Herrnhut, have been mentioned in a former chapter.* He was one of those brethren who in 1733 were sent to St. Croix, to commence a Mission in that Island.† Most of them died in a short time, and he also lost his wife. After this bereavement he returned to Europe; and in 1740 went with his daughter, Anna, to North America, and towards winter arrived in Nazareth. In the following spring the building of Bethlehem commenced, and that in such severe weather, that in felling the trees in the forest, the workmen stood above their knees in the snow. Though more than seventy years of age, Nitschmann yielded to none of the rest, in cheerful and persevering industry, determined to endure every hardship, and spent his last remaining strength, in laying the foundation of a settlement, which, he trusted in God, would prove in America what Herrnhut had already become in Europe, the nursery of many faithful laborers of Christ in the New World.

Disabled by the infirmities of old age from any further share in the laborious part of the work, he spent his last years in maintaining an extensive correspondence with the missionaries among the Indians, and others. It afforded him peculiar pleasure to do kind offices to the new comers and to visiters of every description. By persons of every persuasion he was respected as a true Christian, and the congregation in Bethlehem honored

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* See page 185.

† Hist. Sketches of Miss. Chap. v.

and loved him as their father, and the founder of their settlement. He closed his earthly pilgrimage on the 4th of April, 1758, at the age of eighty one.

## SECTION XII.

*Last Labors, Sickness and Decease of Count* ZINZENDORF.

AFTER relieving the Brethren's Church from its financial difficulties, count Zinzendorf remained two or three years longer in England, and in the spring of 1755, returned to Germany by way of Holland. Having visited several congregations on the Continent, he arrived at Herrnhut on the 2nd of June. Here he continued his labors with his wonted activity, paid short visits to the other congregations in Saxony, and before the end of the year took up his residence at Bertholsdorf, in the house which he had built when he first obtained possession of the estate. This habitation was peculiarly agreeable to him, as it awakened many pleasing recollections of his early years, and of the blessing of God, which had attended the building of Herrnhut and the renewal of the Brethren's Church. At the earnest solicitations of his numerous tenantry, who rejoiced at his residence among them, he delivered a sermon to them every sunday evening. They were afterwards printed, and read by many with much edification.

In this house, which he called Bethel, the Synod of 1756 was held, during which his lady entered into her eternal rest. Painfully as he felt this bereavement, the divine consolation he experienced so refreshed and strengthened his soul, that after performing the last offices of affection for her, he could resume his usual labors with undiminished assiduity. As his circumstances seemed to require that he should marry again, he chose for his partner in life, the Moravian emigrant Anna Nitschmann, a person highly esteemed in the Brethren's Church, and who had for many years held the office of Elder among the Sisters. The marriage was solemnized on the 29th of June, 1757, at Bertholsdorf, which was now his usual residence. He

occupied himself in revising his former publications, and adding some new ones, in order to have a uniform edition prepared for the press; but did not live long enough to complete it. He was likewise much occupied in holding conferences with the ministers and elders of the Church, whom for that purpose he invited to his house, and with whom he concerted measures for extending the Missions. Besides these labors he not only visited the congregations in the vicinity, but made several journies into distant parts of the European Continent. His last journey was into Holland, from whence he returned to Herrnhut at Christmas in 1759.

His incessant labors of body and mind had somewhat impaired his constitution, so that within the last two or three years he found it necessary to pay more attention to his health than he had been accustomed to do, and especially to avoid sitting up during the night. Yet, though he allowed himself a little more rest and relaxation than formerly, he was never idle, but rather, as far as his declining health would permit, doubled his diligence, like a faithful servant, who knew he had much work to do and but little time for it, that, at his Lord's coming, he might give in his account with joy.

In this state of mind he began the year 1760. His intention was to have convened a general Synod of the Brethren's Church; but as the warlike state of many countries rendered this impracticable, he held several conferences with such ministers and other laborers, as either resided in the neighbourhood, or at this time visited Herrnhut, or returned from foreign stations. He also continued his extensive correspondence as usual, completed the Annual Collection of Texts for the next year, and made preparations for a journey to Zeist.

We come now to the last days of the mortal life of this eminent servant of God, and in order to present the reader with the more interesting particulars of the closing scene, shall condense the relation of his biographer, who received his information from an eye-witness.

"Although count Zinzendorf had spent a very uneasy and sleepless night, he persevered in his work on May 5th, and finished the task, which, according to his usual custom, he had

set himself for that day. When he had completed the manuscript, (of the Annual Collection of Texts) he handed it to a friend with these words: 'Now rest will be sweet.' He dined with his family but ate very little. In the afternoon he composed a hymn, and attended a solemn meeting of the Single Sisters. In the evening he conversed in a very confidential and affectionate manner with his three daughters and other members of his family. With regard to his illness he remarked: that in all his former illnesses his first care had been to ascertain, what might be their cause, and whether they were intended as a paternal correction from the Lord; in which case he had been ready to confess his faults, and freely to acknowledge them to his friends, and even to his opponents. At this time, however, he was fully assured, that our Saviour had no such intention with afflicting him. His mind was kept in perfect peace, and stayed upon the Lord.

"On the following day he grew sensibly weaker in body, but his mind had not yet lost its activity. He continued his revision of the Texts for 1761, and had all the letters which arrived read to him, together with some accounts from the Missions, expressing his joy at their prosperity.

"On the 7th, the cough and other symptoms increased in violence; he got no sleep and speaking became difficult. He received all his friends, who came to see him, with the greatest cordiality; but could not speak much. On the 8th he was remarkably lively and cheerful, and said to his son-in-law and some other persons, who were in the room: 'I cannot express how much I love you all. I am now in my proper element. We are together like angels, as if we were already in heaven. Could you have believed it, in the beginning of our work, that Christ's prayer, *that they all may be One*, would have been so happily realised among us.' In the afternoon he finished with astonishing presence of mind the revision of the Collection of Texts for the next year. This was his last labor.

"When this was done, he gave vent to the grateful feelings of his soul, and, with praises and thanksgiving to the Lord, recounted the many personal mercies he had received from him, and the many tokens of his grace, which had accom-

panied his services in the Brethren's Church. Addressing those who were present, he said: 'Did you think in the beginning, that our Saviour would do so much for us and by us, as you now see with your eyes? What great things hath he done in our congregations, among our friends in different religious denominations, and among the Heathen! With regard to the last, I did not extend my hopes beyond two or three first fruits; and now we may reckon some thousands of converts.'

"In the same happy state of mind he passed the following night. He was still occupied with writing, made many inquiries concerning persons and things, and spent much of his time in silent prayer. He lost his speech for a few minutes, but soon recovered it. Early in the morning of the 9th, he said to one of his visiters: 'I am perfectly content with the ways of my Lord. He determines with the utmost precision what concerns his children; but in the present instance *you* do not think so. I believe my work among you is done; and should I now depart this life, you know my mind.'—His voice became weak, and he could say no more. His son-in-law, bishop Watteville, having seated himself close by his bed side, he thus addressed him: 'My dear Johannes, I am going home to our Saviour; I am ready. I am fully resigned to the will of my Lord, and He is satisfied with me, for he has pardoned me. If he has no further use for me here, I am quite ready to go to Him; for there is nothing in my way.' After this he gave directions about a few things he wished to be done.

"Baron Frederick von Watteville and David Nitschmann now entered his room. He addressed them in a few words, which, however, were scarcely intelligible. Hereupon he sent for his children; but was not able to speak. By this time near a hundred persons had collected in his room and the adjoining apartment. He raised himself in bed, looked at them with a mien, expressive of serenity and affection; and then reclining his head, and closing his eyes, fell gently asleep in Jesus, about nine o'clock in the morning, having attained the age of sixty years." *

* Life of Zinzendorf, p. 2236—2242.

A Circular was immediately sent to all the congregations, notifying this painful event. It concludes with the following sentence: "You know what a gift of grace our Church has had in this disciple of our Lord. This witness of the death and atonement of Christ, this restorer of the Brethren's Church, this apostle to so many nations of the earth, this founder of the villages of the Lord, this faithful friend of every poor distressed soul, this true philanthropist, to whom it was a princely repast to do good—hath now been called by his Lord from his labors into eternal rest, this forenoon in the tenth hour. The Daily Word is: *He shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.* Ps. cxxxi. 6. Whoever desires this let him say, Amen."

In the afternoon the mournful event was made known to the congregation at Herrnhut by bishop Watteville, who, after mentioning the most interesting circumstances of the last days and hours of this highly respected servant of God in the Brethren's Church, concluded with an appropriate address and prayer.

On the day of interment, May 16th, the coffin was in the morning brought into the Church at Herrnhut, where many hundred persons of all ranks came to see it, the organ all the while playing solemn hymn tunes. About twelve o'clock a company of the Imperial Grenadiers marched into the Settlement, with military music.* At five o'clock in the evening the congregation assembled in the square, before the church, and formed a circle, in the centre of which the coffin was placed. The solemn service commenced with the singing of a hymn, accompanied by soft music on wind instruments. Hereupon the procession moved forwards in the following order; first the children of the schools belonging to Great Hennersdorf, Niesky and Herrnhut, followed by the band of musicians. Next came the three daughters of count Zinzendorf; then the coffin, preceded

* This was done to preserve order, a great concourse of people being expected. General von Beck, who commanded part of the Imperial army during the war, being then stationed at Zittau, had obligingly acceded to the request of the Brethren at Herrnhut.

by three bishops and carried by sixteen presbyters and deacons* of the Brethren's Church, relieved at intervals by sixteen others. Immediately after the coffin followed the other relatives, and the congregation closed the procession.† The coffin was deposited in a vault, built in the middle walk of the burial-ground,‡ by the side of the grave of the countess. The fune-

* It so happened that among them there were Brethren from Germany, Holland, England, Ireland, North-America and Greenland.

† Those who walked with the procession amounted to two thousand one hundred, and an equal number followed at a distance.

‡ The burial-ground at Herrnhut, though in the disposition of its graves resembling the places of interment, belonging to other congregations of the Brethren, is yet, in some respects, so unique in its kind, that a short description of it will probably not be unacceptable to the reader. It lies south west of Herrnhut at the distance of about a furlong, on the slope of a hill, called the Hutberg, which commands one of the most delightful prospects in Upper Lusatia, presenting in the foreground a distinct view of the three villages, so memorable in the history of the renewed Brethren's Church, Herrnhut, Bertholsdorf and Hennersdorf. It is surrounded with a hedge of beech, and laid out in regular squares, the intersecting walks being planted with tall lime trees, forming shady vistas. Benches are placed here and there in the walks and in arbors. The whole has rather the appearance of a pleasure-ground, than a grave-yard, and has become a favorite promenade for many of the inhabitants of Herrnhut and strangers who visit the Settlement. All the graves are disposed in regular rows, and each covered with a plain stone, lying horizontally, indicating the name, birth, and death of the individual, whose mortal remains rest beneath it in hope of a joyful resurrection. The visiter approaches it through an avenue of tall and shady trees, gently ascending the hill. Over the portal, at the public entrance, are written in large letters the words: CHRIST IS RISEN FROM THE DEAD, and on the other side: HE IS BECOME THE FIRST FRUITS OF THEM THAT SLEPT.

To the members of the Brethren's Church this burial-ground is rendered peculiarly interesting, as being the depositary of the mortal remains of many, whose memory is cherished by them with veneration, affection and gratitude. They find here the Restorers of their Church, the Supporters of their Constitution, the Promulgators of evangelical doctrine throughout the earth. Fathers and Confessors; Missionaries and their converts; Greenlanders, Indians, Tartars and Negroes. However great the difference among them in other respects, they all agreed in one religious principle; they had one faith and one hope. The number of graves in 1822 was 2502.

ral service was performed according to the ritual of the Brethren's Church. The whole was conducted with the greatest order and solemnity, and the procession returned from the place of interment with the same stillness and regularity.

On the eleventh of July a funeral sermon was preached in the parish church of Bertholsdorf, of which count Zinzendorf had been the patron, the living being then vacant, by the Rev. Burchard George Mueller, A.M. of Hennersdorf. He chose for his text the words of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 10, *By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace, which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain; but I labored more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God, which was with me.* This passage he applied to the deceased, shewing by ample references to his services for the advancement of pure and undefiled religion among Christians and Heathen, how abundantly he had labored in the Lord's vineyard.

Thus died the man, of whom his friends may have been too lavish in their praise, and whom his enemies have loaded with the vilest reproach; but whose real offence was his determination, notwithstanding his exalted rank, to become an humble follower of Jesus, and a devoted servant of his Saviour. He was in the strictest sense of the word, an Original, raised up and endowed by God with peculiar talents for the work, which He in his providence had allotted him. As a Nobleman, a Scholar and a Divine, his memory will be respected by all, who can appreciate real worth.

As a nobleman, rank and riches had no other value in his esteem, than as they enabled him to be more extensively useful. We have seen, that he not only was willing, but actually did relinquish all those worldly honors, to which his rank and talents entitled him, that he might be unfettered in his labors as a servant of Christ. And in the same spirit he consecrated the whole of his property to the cause of religion and charity.

His acquirements as a Scholar were of a superior kind; and both his classical learning and his knowledge of polite literature, would have gained him considerable celebrity in the learned world, if employed on other subjects than those of true and vital religion. But the little attention, which men of letters,

in his day, too generally bestowed on this most important of all subjects, and the reproach undeservedly heaped upon him as a Divine, deprived him in a great measure of the respect to which his literary merit entitled him. His claims as an author will be differently estimated, according to the opinions and tastes of his readers. But no competent judge can deny, that they display much original genius, great depth of thought, sound learning, correct scriptural views on every essential article of Christianity, and a mind deeply impressed with divine truth, and ardently desirous of imparting that truth to others. The liveliness of his imagination and the rapidity, with which his ideas succeeded each other, gave in some instances an air of singularity and even extravagance to some of his sentiments, which rendered him liable to be misunderstood and subjected him to animadversions. His principal fault as an author probably was, that he wrote too much, and seldom took time to correct what he had written, before it was committed to the press.*

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* On the publications of count Zinzendorf the author deems it proper to make a few additional remarks, which may serve to correct some of those erroneous views which are still entertained by many, respecting the count's writings; which are supposed to contain fanatical and heterodox opinions, and which have been adduced for the purpose of impeaching the orthodoxy of the Brethren's Church.

Several pages would be required to insert only the Titles of his Publications. Including his smaller pieces and periodical works, and those for which he furnished the chief materials, though they do not bear his name, they amount to upwards of an hundred. With the exception of a few smaller tracts in Latin, French, and English, they are written in German. Some of them were elicited by the controversy respecting himself and the Brethren's Church, which at a certain period was very hotly maintained. But the greater proportion was theological, consisting of sermons, essays, and hymns. The latter in particular have supplied his adversaries with a fruitful subject both for ridicule and serious censure. And it must be owned, that some of his hymns, though not devoid of poetical merit, and evincing, besides real piety, a strong and fervid imagination, contain stanzas, wanting in chasteness of expression and scriptural simplicity, and thus liable to be misunderstood and abused. At the same time it ought to be distinctly stated, that many of those hymns, which at a certain period disgraced the Brethren's Church, and were inconsiderately translated and printed, did not flow from his pen; and that with regard to his own compo-

Whatever were the peculiar notions of count Zinzendorf on some doctrinal subjects, his printed discourses put it beyond all doubt that he was a sound Divine. He firmly believed and fearlessly maintained every doctrine essential to salvation, and from the heart subscribed to the assertion of the great German Reformer, that justification by faith is that article, by the admission or rejection of which the Church will either stand or fall. Hence he delighted to extol the free grace of God in

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sitions he was always ready to correct whatever was proved to him to be justly objectionable, either in the subject or language.

With regard to his discourses and sermons, of which several hundred have been published in Germany, it should be observed, that they were not precomposed, but delivered strictly extempore, and taken down in short hand. In this imperfect and mutilated state they were put to press, often without being seen by him, or receiving any correction. He indeed began to revise all his publications, in order to prepare a new edition; but his many other avocations prevented him from making much progress in this work. After his decease, however, the Rev. Gottfried Clemens presented the German public with a revised edition of some of his Discourses in eight volumes octavo. The best of his hymns have been inserted in the Brethren's German Hymn-book.

Respecting those of his writings, both in prose and verse, which have been translated into English, it seems necessary to make this further remark, that the inferiority, which is observable in almost every translation, is peculiarly conspicuous in the translations made of count Zinzendorf's writings. His style and diction were peculiarly his own, and often appear extravagant and paradoxical even to a German reader, if the connection of his frequently abrupt sentences be not closely attended to. To retain these peculiarities in the translation was no easy task, especially as most of his translators, though masters of the English language, were not sufficiently acquainted with the niceties of the German idiom, always to choose the most appropriate terms for conveying the exact meaning of their author, with sufficient perspicuity. Aiming at too literal a translation, the force and beauty of the sentiment in the original were lost. Thus they often appear, not only unintelligible and puerile, but even objectionable. This is particularly the case with his Hymns. Many expressions, which in the original are inoffensive, because used by Luther and others, and admitted into some of the best German hymn-books, can hardly fail to offend an English reader.

The Brethren, both in England and Germany, have long since expunged from the Collections of Hymns in use among them, all those composed both by count Zinzendorf and others, which are justly censurable as it regards either the subject or the language.

Christ Jesus, and to invite the most guilty and wretched of mankind to accept of the offered salvation, without money and without price. He zealously opposed all self-righteousness; but as strenuously maintained the necessity of good works, as the fruits of faith, shewing that sanctification springs as naturally from faith as justification, and that when the love of God in Christ Jesus is shed abroad in the heart, it will enkindle love to Him who first loved us, and expand in charity to our neighbour. More than one university in Germany and consistory of the Lutheran Church, after the strictest examination, bore public and honorable testimony to his knowledge of the Scriptures, and the soundness of his divinity.

In the Church of the Brethren the memory of count Zinzendorf will ever be cherished with admiration and gratitude, as the instrument in the hand of God of raising their Church from its ashes, recovering its constitution, and inspiring its members with zeal for the glory of God, and the advancement of his kingdom among Christians and Heathen. Yet with all their veneration for his person and services, they do not consider him as a perfect character, for he was but a man, and therefore liable to err; and great as the benefit many have received from his writings, they do not attach any higher merit to them, than what is due to any human composition, the general tenor of which is in accordance with the oracles of God.* They respect his memory not only as a devoted servant, but as a real child of God, and an humble follower of Jesus, who derived all his hopes of happiness in time and eternity from the cross of Christ, deeming it his highest honor to be abased that his Saviour might be exalted; and in whom the enthusiasm, with which he has been charged, sprang from ardent love to his Redeemer, and spent itself in his service.

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* The author trusts this remark will not appear superfluous, when he informs his readers, that he has more than once been asked, and that by men of piety and learning, whether the writings of count Zinzendorf were considered as symbolical, (or a kind of standard of divine truth) in the Brethren's Church? For further information on this subject the reader is referred to p. 230, &c.

His widow, Anna Nitschmann, was confined by illness at the time of his departure, and followed him into eternity on the 21st of May of the same year.

By his first marriage he had six sons and six daughters, of whom three daughters only survived their father. His eldest daughter, Henrietta Justina Benigna, was in 1746 married to baron Johannes von Watteville, who was afterwards consecrated a bishop of the Brethren's Church, his second daughter Elizabeth, was married to baron Frederick von Watteville, and the third Agnes Maria, to count Moritz zu Dohna.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

## NOTE.

The Preface, Table of Contents, and Index, will be given with the second volume.

## ERRATA.

On page 63, first line, instead of: was the first known translation of the Bible into, *read*, was, as far as is known, the first translation of the Bible *printed* in

On page 409, line 9, instead of, will continue, *read*, still continues.

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